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ABSTRACT

Utilizing data derived from numerous sources (institutions, Alaska Native organizations, Federal and State agencies, conferences, etc.), this descriptive study is divided into 6 chapters which trace the evolution of and the necessity for Alaska Native higher education. Following a detailed introduction, Chapter 2 describes the physical and environmental setting of Alaska and its various ethnic groups (Aleuts; Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians; Eskimos; and Athabascans). Chapter 3 provides historical analysis (1741-1972) of the socio-political changes relative to Native educational development resulting from contact with Euro-American cultures (the Russian period, the American missions, the "government missions", and the evolution and dismantlement of the Native and non-Native 2 school system). Chapter 4 details the influence of Statehood and the land claims movement on the evolution of the Alaska Native's need and/or desire for cultural survival and ethnic self-determination. Documenting the lack of Alaska Native participation in the social affairs of the State, Chapter 5 emphasizes the relationship between higher education and social participation via examination of: public and private institutions; higher education and the Alaska Native peoples; a profile of the Native college student; special institutional programs; the educational needs and the future of Alaska Native higher education. (Author/JC)

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ALASKA NATIVES AND ALASKA HIGHER EDUCATION
1960 - 1972

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

Dr. Louis Jacquot

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ALASKA NATIVES AND ALASKA HIGHER EDUCATION, 1960-1972:

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

by

LOUIS FRED JACQUOT

September 1973

FOREWORD TO LOU JACQUOT'S DISSERTATION

Certainly the number of doctoral dissertations in education has reached an all time high, as has, one suspects, the problem of identifying interesting dissertation topics. Few dissertations become the source of popular reading. But for Alaskans concerned with the myriad problems of public education, especially education for Alaskan Native populations, Dr. Jacquot's research is a welcome exception. And of even greater importance than the research reported by Dr. Jacquot during his doctoral studies is the deep feeling he shows for the need to improve educational opportunities for his Alaskan Natives.

Dr. Jacquot reports on topics of higher education through the medium of historical analysis, always a tenuous undertaking, and some historians may even find points in Dr. Jacquot's work with which to take issue. But this is a natural and healthy risk taken by most such studies and need not be dwelt on here. Educationists, on the other hand, may find little to quarrel with and should seek to learn much from a style of intuitive perception found only in those who have lived the Native experience.

Dr. Jacquot's respect for higher education and its utility as a special tool by Alaskan Natives for fashioning an increasing array of leadership roles in Alaskan affairs speaks to a special kind of urgency. Educational policy makers throughout the state need constantly to identify and initiate new ways to bring skills obtained through higher education to a far greater number of individuals. The Alaska Native Human Resource Development project, which Dr. Jacquot now serves as Executive Director, is an example of a new way to broaden the availability of higher education to a greater range of people than heretofore. Many other ways, even more daring in form and broader in scope, must be found. It is expected that this printing of Dr. Jacquot's dissertation will encourage thinking that may lead to such ways.

Frank Darnell, Director
Center for Northern Educational Research
University of Alaska
Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family, relatives, friends,
and to the Native peoples of the North

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. H. G. Barnett and Dr. Malcolm McFee of the Department of Anthropology whose classes in "Cultural Dynamics" and "Anthropology and Education" inspired this present study.

Further thanks are extended to Dr. Robert Bowlin, Dr. Thomas Dahle, and Dr. Gerald Bogen of the Department of Higher Education. Their seemingly infinite patience during all phases of the study's development allowed me to freely create and probe while still maintaining the usual scholarly discipline.

Finally, I wish to extend my thanks to Charlene Yogi, who helped to organize the documents and typed the drafts for the study, and to Mr. Richard Reynolds and the staff of the Erb Memorial Student Union for their support and understanding.

L. F. J.
University of Oregon, Eugene

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to describe the Alaska Native peoples in relationship to their exposure to the forms of American higher education existent in Alaska.

That exposure was one result of their contact, beginning in 1741, with Europeans and Americans who migrated to Alaska and instituted a dominant society with cultural motifs that were, at first, foreign and alien to the Native peoples. The cultural changes that resulted from that contact presented a number of critical problems to the Native peoples in the past, many of which remain to the present day. Aside from such material changes as tools, implements, food and clothing styles that normally follow cultural contacts, the questions concerning ethnic survival and social significance that faced those people in the past have become ever more crucial as the non-Native society of Alaska continues to grow in numbers.

At the present time, Alaska's total population includes about 300,000 people.[1] Of that number, the Alaska Natives constitute

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[1] See Table 3.

approximately nineteen per cent.[2] While both segments of the State's population are increasing significantly,[3] that of the non-Natives is rising more dramatically as a result of the pattern of migration from the continental United States to Alaska's metropolitan centers--particularly Anchorage and Fairbanks.[4] Thus, the impact of cultural change, vis-a-vis the Native societies, will remain massive and continuous as the number of non-Natives increases in relationship to the number of Natives. Although most of "Native Alaska" remains rural and village-oriented, as will be described further in the study, the political realities in Alaska--that the total society is governed by a majority through representatives elected on a population basis--indicate that decisions affecting the lives of the Native peoples increasingly will be made by others if the Native peoples remain a passive minority. Moreover, even aside from politics, the technological and social innovations introduced into Alaska will continue to present accomplished facts to the Native peoples if they are not aware of change and its implications. If the Native peoples are to survive culturally and maintain their individual identities, they must learn of their changing environments and make their own choices on the bases of educated judgments. Change must be understood and harnessed.

Formal education has offered a hope and a means of solving social and transitional problems faced by other so-called minorities in

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[2] See Tables 2 and 3.

[3] See Table 5.

[4] For another dimension, see Figure 4.

America--the Negro-Americans, the Mexican-Americans, and the American Indians. Alaska's Native peoples face problems related in degree, if not in similarity, to those confronting other American minorities, and one path to a solution to such problems may be that of a more widespread and intensive formal education of these people.[5]

Formal education, as described here, is that education which is applied outside of the home and church environment and is structured and governed by state and community regulations. Within that context, and for purposes of this study, such education includes schooling from kindergarten through university.

Preliminary investigation, prior to this study, indicated that although the Alaska Native peoples had received formal educational training since the first contacts in 1741 and more intensively after the transfer of Alaska to American jurisdiction in 1867, that education had been made available inequitably and, in most cases, was not meaningful to those peoples' milieu. Moreover, it was found that although Alaska Natives had been attending institutions of higher education, very little evidence was available concerning the impact of such education on Native students or, through them, on their people. Nor was there general information available concerning their special needs, if any, in relationship to higher education processes.

The following assumptions of the writer represent a framework within which this study was constructed:

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[5] This writer does not suppose that mass education is a panacea for all social ills. Yet, education does offer means to some possible solutions.

1. Higher education is one important means to surmounting certain conditions relating to the ethnic survival and meaningful social role of the Alaska Native peoples.
2. If higher education is to be of value to the Alaska Native peoples, part of its content must be based on their unique backgrounds and cultural milieu.
3. Careful empirical investigations, and the application of those findings, would suggest worthwhile curricular content.
4. Alaska higher education has not been preparing Alaska Natives in adequate numbers for leadership roles in their home societies by way of 2 and 3, above.

Thus, it was determined that a comprehensive descriptive study of Alaska Natives and higher education in Alaska would be valuable at this time. Because of their evolving role within the larger Alaskan society (as will be spelled out in the study), and their needs for leadership and professional skills obtainable through institutions of higher learning, it is suggested that the Alaska Native peoples and Alaskan colleges and universities would benefit from such a study.

Review of the Literature

A survey of the literature that dealt with Alaska Natives and higher education indicated that there had been some related research such as the Ray Report of 1959.[6] At the time that this present study was written, however, there had been no study concerned specifically with Alaska Natives and higher education. Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), a clearinghouse for professional literature, identified only four studies at that time, other than the Ray Report, that dealt with the Alaska Native peoples and their formal education. These are discussed below.

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[6] Charles Ray, A Program of Education for Alaskan Natives, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1959). (The report discusses the historical background, curriculum, and secondary and post-high school education among the Alaska Native peoples up to 1958.)

In 1966, the Governor's Committee on Education produced a study[7] primarily concerned with elementary and secondary Native education. The report recommended close federal and state cooperation in the area. In 1968, Flore Lekanof, a Native educator, wrote a brief paper[8] that focused on Native education and stressed that there was a need for the direct involvement of the Native peoples in educational planning if such education was to be meaningful to them.

George Rogers, an Alaskan economist, produced a background report for a symposium on northern educational problems that was held at Montreal in 1969.[9] That symposium was largely concerned with elementary and secondary education, and Rogers' report supplied the Alaska delegation with related demographic statistics and historical trends.

In 1970, the Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education--which was similar to the 1966 Governor's Committee mentioned above--

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[7] State of Alaska, An Overall Education Plan for Rural Alaska, (Juneau: Department of Education, 1966).

[8] Flore Lekanof, A Study of Problems in Education of the Native People of Alaska, (Bethesda, Maryland: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, 1968).

[9] George W. Rogers, The Cross-Cultural Economic Situation in the North: The Alaska Case, (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1969).

published a report[10] that stressed the need for training teachers in the Native districts in the indigenous cultures. It also recognized the need for supportive research data about Native education. But again, that study was almost wholly concerned with education at the elementary and secondary levels.

Other studies of a more general social and economic nature had been produced from time to time by the University of Alaska's Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research. While such studies were not specifically concerned with education in Alaska, they often included statistical and demographic data that touched on the subject in relation to their discussions on population profiles, trends and projections. Those reports generally categorized the Alaska population according to ethnic origin, based upon census data.

Other related reports, too numerous to itemize here, and which do not specifically address the topic of higher education, are reported in the body of this study.

Method

During the several years prior to the conception of the present study, informal notes had been compiled on the general subject of Alaska Natives and education while the writer worked with the Alaska State-Operated School System, the University of Alaska, and various Alaska

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[10] State of Alaska, Time for a Change in the Education of Alaska Natives: A Statement of Preliminary Findings and Recommendations Relating to the Education of Alaska Natives, (Juneau: Governor's Commission on Cross-Cultural Education, 1970).

Native organizations. Those notes were later used as a basis for the gathering of specific data that related to the present study.

In the winter of 1972, materials and information from the following sources were collected in Alaska:

1. Institutional. The libraries and certain officials of the institutions of higher learning in Alaska were contacted and apprised of the proposed study. Individual interviews of the officials were conducted and materials relating to the higher education of Native Alaskans were collected through such sources. (In addition, the writer's name was entered on mailing lists in this instant and in those following. In that manner, information was made available for the study almost to the final writing.)

2. Alaska Native organizations. Key figures in the statewide and regional associations of the Native peoples were contacted and informally interviewed on the subject of the present study throughout the winter. Papers concerning educational plans, histories of the organizations, and general proposals were collected. (In addition, some papers and letters of a private nature were often made available.)

3. U.S. governmental agencies. Officials in Alaska of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Public Health Service, and other federal agencies, were interviewed and pertinent materials were collected from them.

4. Alaska State governmental agencies and legislative bodies. Such agencies of the State as the Department of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Human Rights Commission were personally contacted, as above, and information collected. Members of the Alaska State Legislature who sat on key educational committees--such as the House and Senate education committees, and the Legislative Council's Subcommittee on Higher Education--were informed of the study and interviewed when possible.

5. Conferences and meetings. Whenever organizations met whose concerns touched on Alaska Natives and higher education, the writer either attended such conferences or received written or verbal reports of the discussions. A great amount of information of a first-hand nature was thus collected. (For example, the series of conferences that culminated in the Native land claims settlement; meetings of the Alaska Humanities Forum; and such other conferences concerning Alaska Student Higher Education Services and Student

Orientation Services.)

6. Miscellaneous. Individuals such as the Alaska Congressional delegation, certain of the University of Alaska Board of Regents, officers of the Alaska State-Operated School System, and other educators from districts around the State were contacted from time to time.

The collected materials and notes were analyzed during the winter of 1973 and the report as presented in the following chapters was written.

Definition of Terms Used

Alaska Natives: "Native" means a citizen of the United States who is a person of one-fourth degree or more Alaska Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut blood, or combination thereof. The term includes any Native as so defined either or both of whose adoptive parents are not Natives. It also includes, in the absence of proof of a minimum blood quantum, any Native village or Native group of which he claims to be a member and whose father or mother is (or, if deceased, was) regarded as Native by any village or group.[11]

Culture: The concepts, habits, skills, arts and institutions of a people.

Ethnic groups: The divisions of people based on their customs, characteristics and language.

Higher Education: The term "higher education" as used in this study means those post-secondary programs that 1) train or educate students who possess a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such education or training, 2) are legally authorized by the State of Alaska, 3) lead to an associate of arts, bachelor's, or other higher degree, or provide not less than a two-year course sequence which is acceptable for full credit toward such degrees, 4) are open to the general public, and 5) are provided by institutions accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association.

Native Regional Organizations or Corporations: Those associations or corporations of a regional nature listed in Section 7 (a) of the

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[11] Section 3 (b), PL 92-203 (85 Stat. 689).

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (PL 92-203, 85 Stat. 691).

Society: People, collectively who have related, interdependent, community interests.

Limitations and Sources of Possible Error

1. Inaccurate data within documents and reports:

   A disciplined system of cross-checking the documents, from one to the other, and the use of primary data it is believed, held such inaccuracies to a minimum.

2. Invalid, inappropriate, or outdated or insignificant studies, or conclusions stated therein:

   Such material was weeded out as the evidence from sound studies mounted and was verified by careful cross-checking.

3. Misreading or applying inappropriate analysis of the data.

   Consultations with experts in Alaska and at the University of Oregon uncovered errors of this type.

4. Unintential bias in reporting by the author, an Alaska Native, because of his deep and personal emotional involvement.

   The writer was aware of that factor and attempted to maintain a professionally objective stance throughout the analysis and writing phases. However, it should also be pointed out that there were times when it was necessary to present a "Native view" of certain situations because such a position had not been previously presented in a study of this type. Furthermore, any such statements of that type must remain the responsibility of the author only, and not of the peoples of the study.

5. Absence of Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs under the definition of higher education.

   It was difficult to find objective data on the ABE programs in Alaska, perhaps because such programs have been established only in recent years. A further study in that area will certainly be warranted when more evidence becomes available.

Significance of the Study

The people of Alaska, both Native and non-Native, have recently passed through a period in their histories that resulted in their achievement of autonomy and self-determination within the framework of traditional, American, representative democracy. That evolution, which will be described in detail within the present study, was highlighted by the following popular movements:

1. Statehood. Following a long political struggle, the people of Alaska achieved a self-governing status, within the Union of American states, equal to that of their fellow citizens in those other states.
2. Native land claims settlement. The Alaska Native peoples achieved a measure of self-determination as a result of this political struggle that was similar in many respects to that of the previous statehood movement.

The settlement of the land issue provided the Native peoples with a land and economic base in the form of title to forty million acres and a monetary award of close to one billion dollars. That settlement meant that they, at least, had the wherewithal to pursue certain forms of cultural identity and social intercourse according to their own choosing.

A third issue, which is related to the above but remains only a potential change factor at this writing, is that of the proposed construction of an 800 mile oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay, on the North Slope, to the port of Valdez in the south of the State. Currently delayed in the U.S. courts because of questions relating to environmental safety, the construction of such a project through the heart of "Native Alaska" poses a further dimension, in the future, to the Native peoples' quest for ethnic identity and cultural development. If, as this study concludes, those people prepare for that future through the processes of formal education, then they should have a less difficult transitional experience than they have had in the past.

Even aside from the land claims settlement and the technological developments among the Native peoples, this study should have significance to a broad spectrum of educational and political leaders in Alaska who are concerned with the well-being of all of the State's people. The State has a constitutional obligation to provide education for all of its people and a moral obligation to develop their intellectual resources to their highest capabilities. The Native peoples have not yet contributed fully to Alaska's social and economic development partly because they have lacked intellectual leadership trained through modern forms of higher education.

An Overview of the Study's Contents

The study begins with a description of the physical and environmental setting of Alaska. The various ethnic Alaska Native groups are placed within that setting (Ch. II). The origins of those peoples are discussed, and an analysis of their individual ethnic differences and similarities are presented. Their first contacts with European and American cultures and the Native's social evolution to the present are noted as a theme that continues throughout the remaining chapters of the study.

The changes that took place among the Native peoples as a result of their contacts with Euro-American cultures and their exposure to formal education are examined next (Ch. III). In that context, the theme of change will continue. The early education of the Native peoples, it is found, was fraught with problems essentially resulting from the "cultural walls" that existed between them and the white, American teachers who labored in the early Alaskan "bush." A segregated "two-school" system evolved in Alaska, one largely Native and the other non-Native, and only gradually, over time, is that system being dismantled.

As the Alaska Native peoples adjusted to the initial cultural and physical shock of their contacts with non-Natives, they began to sense a need or desire for cultural survival and ethnic self-determination (Ch. IV). The Act of Statehood for Alaska in 1958, following a long political struggle for self-determination by Alaska's non-Native population, resulted in a conceived threat to the Native homelands and served to "trigger" a land claims movement among the Native peoples. That movement resulted in a process of increasing self-determination and political maturity.

The results of their cultural evolution and full participation in the social affairs of the State had long been dormant among the Native peoples because, in part, they had not gained a greater access to the benefits of higher education (Ch. V). The history of Alaska higher education itself, however, indicates that other segments of Alaska's people were similarly not privy to such benefits on a large scale until that system of higher education had reached a stage of maturity where it could fulfill the disparate needs of the State's people. While the Alaska Native peoples changed over time, so did the public and private systems of higher education in Alaska. Higher education in Alaska has now reached the point where it is now capable of providing for certain special needs of the Native peoples. Thus, the Native people are, in 1973, at the threshold of a new phase in their development: that of full intellectual participation, on an equal basis, with others of Alaska's society in the improvement of that society.

CHAPTER II

NATIVE ALASKA

The Land

Alaska, more than any other state in the American Union, is peculiarly an entity unto itself, neither separated completely from her sister states as is Hawaii, nor by sharing common borders as the others do. Alaska occupies a peninsula that juts out of the extreme northwest of the North American continent and represents a kind of tentacled arc that stretches two arms, one to Siberia and the other to the heartland of the mother states to the south. In the west, at the end of the chain of the Aleutian islands, the state is separated from the Asian land mass by the Bering Sea and the Komandorski Islands. To the southeast, Alaska occupies a narrow strip of coastline and islands along the North Pacific, but remains separated from the nearest American state by the Canadian province of British Columbia. This latter separation is not physical but man-made, and because of the close relationship that exists between Canada and the U.S. it poses few serious problems of travel and communication between Alaska and the other states.

Seemingly compact when drawn on a map, Alaska in reality is divided into a number of physical, climatic, and cultural zones. The Aleutian Islands and Southeastern Alaska, both mentioned above, represent such physical zones. Other distinct areas would include the Interior, which surrounds Fairbanks and is essentially the drainage basin of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers; Western Alaska, which faces the Bering Sea; the now-famous North Slope which encompasses the vast region between the Brooks Range and the Arctic; and Southcentral Alaska, centered on Anchorage, Cook Inlet and the Gulf of Alaska. Climatically, Alaska is as varied as this generalized physical outline.

The Aleutians, a string of some fifty islands between mainland Alaska and Kamchatka, represent a region that is "mild" in comparison to other areas to the north and east: rarely does the temperature drop below zero, but hovers between above freezing in the winter and the low fifties in the summer. Although most Aleutian days are damp and shrouded in fog, the overall precipitation is slight, amounting to some ten to twenty inches per year. The result is that the Aleutians are a grassland region, having no trees other than willow thickets that mark the water courses.

Southeast Alaska, sometimes identified as "the Panhandle," is best described as having a marine climate similar to that of western Washington and Oregon. Heavy rainfall, ranging from forty-five inches at Juneau to 140 at Ketchikan,[1] combined with the warm currents of the Pacific, result in temperatures that seldom drop below zero in the winter or rise above the eighties in the summer. Although snow falls periodically throughout the region in winter months, the mild temperatures soon convert this to rain and runoff in the lower valleys of this mountainous region. Great forests of spruce and hemlock, combined with thick undergrowth, blanket the mountains of the Coast Range, which sharply rise from the mainland fjords and the Alexander Archipelago.

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[1] Clarence C. Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present (3rd ed.; Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1970), p. 6.

The Interior is continental, presenting the most extreme range of temperatures found in the State. Variations range from sixty below zero in the winter to as high as ninety-five in the summer.[2] Relatively light precipitation (10 to 14 inches) results in a vegetation cover of mixed hardwoods and softwoods in the more southerly part of the region to varieties of stunted willow thickets along the stream banks in the north. From at least mid-October to May the region is blanketed by snow, but because of the low humidity, clear skies and lack of wind, residents of the region claim it is more tolerable than areas to the north and west.

Toward the west, along the Bering Sea littoral, the landscape is in glaring contrast to that of the Southeast region's high mountains and indented coast. The Bering Sea is a partially landlocked and shallow body of water, and the Alaska coast only gradually rises out of it. Practically no harbors exist between Bristol Bay and Nome, and the usual seascape is that of long finger-like bars that extend parallel to the land frontage and that change seasonally during windstorms and tidal action. The climate is semi-Arctic, being influenced by the blockade that the Aleutians present to the Pacific on the south and the ice-packs of the Arctic on the north. Unlike the interior, temperatures rarely fall below minus forty in the winter nor over eighty in the summer. Precipitation ranges between ten and twenty inches, but most days are cloudy and windy, reflecting the proximity of the Arctic. No timber, other than willows, grows in the region until the more enclosed portions of the Yukon and Kuskokwim are reached. Toward the north, above Norton Sound, the land takes on a rolling, upland effect that becomes the barrier of the Brooks Range.

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[2] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 12.

The North Slope, so much a part of contemporary news analysis resulting from the oil field discoveries, is in reality a vast plains area that sweeps from the Chukchi Sea in the west to the Canadian border in the east. The Brooks Range encloses most of the region to the south, and the land slopes gradually north to the Arctic Ocean. Because of the semi-frozen condition of the waters off the coast, the region receives a scant five to ten inches of annual precipitation. Although Arctic in nature, the climate is not as extreme as that of the interior; temperatures range from ten below zero in the winter to forty-five during some days in the brief summer. Vegetation is sparse along the Arctic, but a plethora of flowers blanket the land in the summer and small willows cover the water courses. Like the oil lands of the Middle East, the North Slope has been described as bleak, stark, monotonous and potentially wealthy.

Directly to the extreme south of mainland Alaska lies another region that is wealthy in oil resources. But in contrast to the North Slope, the Southcentral region is varied both in topography and climate. The region is enclosed by a series of mountains running inland in an arc from Southeast Alaska to the Aleutians on the west. To the south, the shores are washed by the Gulf of Alaska and warmed by the Pacific currents that control the temperatures all along North America's west coast. The climate is a modified marine, with temperatures not too dissimilar from those of Southeast Alaska. However, except for points along the extreme coastal fringe, precipitation remains a moderate twenty-five to thirty inches. Snow is heavier than in the Interior and remains longer than in the Southeast. While much of the coast is indented, offering some of the finest natural harborages outside of Southeast Alaska, the swift tides and stormy seas of the region reflect its nearness to the storm centers of the Bering and Arctic. In addition, considerable stretches of the coast contain active glaciers so that only a few specific places, in the natural state, provide safe harbors. The vegetation is mixed in the Southcentral region, consisting of alternate growths of varieties of evergreen, broadleaf trees and willows.

The Native People

Native Alaska has always been a confusing conceptualization for white people who have moved into the area or who have attempted to study the people over the past 230 years.

First, the Russians, who "discovered" Alaska in 1741, conceived of the Native people as an extension of the Siberian tribes that they had conquered in their eastward march across that portion of the Eurasian land mass. The first Aleut groups encountered were thought to be emigrants from Kamchatka.[3] Accordingly, they were brutally conquered, enslaved, and otherwise forced to pay tribute to appease their new masters. Noting that the Aleuts, and later the Eskimos encountered around Kodiak and the Gulf of Alaska, were Mongoloid in feature, they perhaps had some grounds for their speculations as to the people's origins. When, however, they reached Southeast Alaska and came into contact with the Tlingits, a note of confusion appeared in their behavior.

They designated these people "Kolosh," as they did other non-Aleut aborigines. In reading the histories written of the period of the Russian occupation of Alaska (c. 1741-1867), one is struck by the ambivalent approach used by the Russians toward the new people with whom they came in contact. Following the conquest of the Aleutians, the wholesale brutality meted out to those people was not again repeated to such an extent against others, although small wars and uprisings continued intermittently until the end of Russian rule. Outside of sporadic "pacification expeditions," the Russian attitude, particularly toward those people outside of their immediate control at Sitka, was one of laissez faire so long as trade was maintained. Indeed, during the last thirty years of the Russian presence in Southeast Alaska even the trading rights were leased out to British interests up to the time of the Russian evacuation in 1867. It was as if the prospect of understanding the aboriginal people was too much and that it would be best simply to ignore their existence. Consequently, Russian penetration of Alaska and influences on the Native people remained a peripheral one, taking firm root only at Unalaska, Kodiak and Sitka.[4]

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[3] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 15.

Following the Russian model, the Americans who came into serious contact with the Alaska Natives after 1867 referred back to their westward expansion across the continent for experiential data. The Natives were first called "Indians," because those were the aborigines who seemed always to be on the horizon of American man's conquest of the continent. Later, as different types of aboriginal Alaskans such as Aleuts and Eskimos were contacted, the preconception of the "Red Indian" didn't hold true and the term "Native" came into popular usage. Thus, all aboriginal groups were conveniently lumped together in the public's eye; a person could be designated as "Native" no matter where he came from in Alaska, just so he was of aboriginal ancestry. Such convenient labeling has certain pitfalls, however, and this became particularly so for the federal government, one of whose historical duties was to protect the "uncivilized tribes" as the nation expanded westward.

In a government report of 1903, which consolidated other reports dating back to 1886, James Witten epitomized the ambivalence of outside observers toward Natives. On the one hand the people are described as

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[4] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 171. (Even today, "Russianized" Alaska Natives, i.e., those who follow the Russian Orthodox Church liturgy, may be found in large numbers only in the arc, Aleutians-Bristol Bay-Kodiak. Other pockets in the Cook Inlet area, Sitka and a few other scattered places in the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta where Orthodoxy remains strong, only point out the extent of the few missionary-trading posts that the Russians were able to establish in those areas.)

"savages" and "barbarians" still in the uncivilized state, and that "In teaching a native it is bad policy to forget that he is the white man's inferior; that he must of necessity be so, and the sooner we recognize the fact that he is an Indian, and should be taught as an Indian, the better it will be for him."[5] On the other hand, the same author noted that

> If they [the Natives] had European features and talked the English language we would often forget that the race had so lately been in a condition of savagery. As fast as they can obtain employment from the white men at reasonable wages they abandon the chase and the fishing grounds and serve their employers faithfully so long as they are well treated.[6]

Reflecting the former impression, all dealings with the Native peoples by the government were consolidated under the umbrella of agencies whose traditional functions were those of pacifying or otherwise controlling the American Indian in the contiguous states. Although reservations were not established in Alaska to the extent that they were in the continental United States,[7] the idea that Natives were "wards of the government," as were American Indians, was maintained and they were assigned to the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, first under the Office of Indian Affairs and later under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Thus, policies established in Washington and applied to Indian reservations in the continental states were also applied to Alaska Natives as a whole, whether or not they were deemed to be feasible even on the southern reservations. This was especially the case with education, where policies and personnel were transferred to Alaska from the south and back again, without attempting to modify either to fit the different circumstances encountered.

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[5] James W. Witten, Report on the Agricultural Prospects, Natives, Salmon Fisheries, Coal Prospects and Development, and Timber and Lumber Interests of Alaska (1903), (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 17. (Hereinafter referred to as Report on Interests of Alaska.)

[6] Witten, Report on Interests of Alaska, p. 17.

[7] With the exception of the Tsimshian Indians, who were granted a reservation in 1891 (26 Stat. 1101), only a few other areas were granted "reserve" status from time to time by a series of executive orders and the Act of May 31, 1938 (52 Stat. 593). These reserves were revoked by Sec. 19 (a) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (85 Stat. 710) in 1971.

The ambivalence described above and the unicultural approach applied to the Alaska Natives was a theme that became consistent over the years, and was one that has perplexed administrators and teachers alike when the results of a method were not up to expectations. Anderson and Eells, in a study published in 1935,[8] noted the need for extensive research of a local nature and the establishment of curricula that would reflect the research and the values of the indigenous peoples. Raymond Barnhardt,[9] in a case study on Northwest Pacific Indian education some thirty-five years later, expressed the same recommendations in very strong terms, and Michael Cline followed up with a statement that "In building a bridge between cultures, the foundation must be the culture the children bring to school,"[10] not the reverse as had been the traditional process. However, in order to build that bridge, teachers and others who wished to be effective in their contacts with Native people needed first to be aware of and sensitive to the people's unique differences as well as their similarities.

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[8] H. Dewey Anderson and Walter Crosby Eells, Alaska Natives: A Survey of Their Sociological and Educational Status, (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1935), pp. 436-437. (Hereinafter referred to as Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status.)

[9] Raymond J. Barnhardt, "Qualitative Dimensions in the Teaching of American Indian Children: A Descriptive Analysis of the Schooling Environment in Three North Pacific Coast Indian Communities" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Oregon, 1970).

The actual discovery of Alaska took place at least 20,000 years ago when people of Mongoloid stock moved across the so-called Bering Sea land bridge that connected the Eurasian and the American continents during the Wisconsin glacial period.[11] The "bridge" was in reality a vast plains area that included most of the now-submerged lands of the Bering and Chuckchi Seas between the Aleutians and the Arctic. Most of western Alaska, the North Slope and the Yukon-Kuskokwim basin as far inland as present-day northern Yukon Territory remained unglaciated[12] and provided a haven for animals and man.

Archeologists surmise that, following the retreat of the glaciers in the post-Wisconsin period, bands of such people migrated down the valleys of North America, thus populating the two continents prior to the "discoveries" of later Europeans. Waves of such people appear to have migrated from Asia over a considerable span of time, measured perhaps in milleniums, so that by the time of contact with the Europeans, a diversity of cultural regions had been well established among the aboriginal peoples.

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[10] Michael S. Cline, "The Impact of Formal Education Upon the Nunamiut Eskimos of Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska: A Case Study" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Oregon, 1972), p. 285.

[11] R. A. Smith and J. W. Smith, eds., *Early Man and Environments in Northwest North America*, (Calgary: University of Calgary Students' Press, 1970), pp. 35-36.

[12] *Ibid*. (This connecting land link is known as "Beringia" and the essentials as described here are supported by a majority of present-day scientists.)

Contact with Europeans in Alaska is historically set in 1741 when Vitus Bering sailed out of Kamchatka on an expedition commissioned by the Imperial Russian government. At that time, the Alaska Natives could be grouped into four major categories, which are in most cases determined by linguistic and cultural relationships rather than by a strictly regional basis.

These four groups and their homelands, both in the historical past and present, may be listed as follows:

Aleuts. These people historically occupied the Aleutian Islands westward from approximately the line Port Heiden-Ivanof Bay on the Alaska Peninsula, and this region remains Aleut to the present day. In contemporary times, much of Bristol Bay and Kodiak have been settled by Aleut people.

Tlingits. The present boundaries of Southeastern Alaska, plus much of the southern Yukon Territory and certain portions of British Columbia, has been the traditional homeland of the Tlingit people. A culturally related people, the Haidas, shared the southern tip of Prince of Wales Island at the time of contact and are today considered by outside observers to be of the same ethnic group (as in "Tlingit-Haida Indians of Alaska"). A second culturally related group of people, the Tsimshians, live on Annette Island, south of Ketchikan, but are of a separate legal identity, as will be explained below.

Eskimos. Essentially a littoral people,[13] Eskimos were settled at the time of contact in an arc around the shores of the Gulf of Alaska, west across the Alaska Peninsula, north along the Bering and Chukchi Seas (including Siberian East Cape) and east along the Arctic to Hudson's Bay and Greenland. Closely related by language, except for major dialects that will be discussed below, Eskimos differed culturally according to whether their environment was near the sea, inland, or north or south. Present day Eskimos predominate in the Southwest, Northwest and Northern regions of the state. Southern Alaska, between Kodiak and Prince William Sound, which had historically been Eskimo, is not so considered by the contemporary general public. There seems to have been a melding of peoples in this area, so that most Natives there are thought to be "Aleut" or "Indian."

Athabascans. A riverine people closely related in language to Navajos and Apaches of the Southwest United States, i.e., they represent a branch of the great "Na-Dene" family of languages, the Athabascans historically and presently occupy the vast inland regions of Alaska, including most of Yukon Territory, northern British Columbia and western Northwest Territories. The descriptive word "Athabascan" is accepted today, even though it was not originally their identifier. Culture and language bind these people closely together in present times, even though they are scattered over a wide area and they speak a dozen or so distinct dialects. In contemporary Alaska, Fairbanks is the focal point for the Athabascan population although the majority of people still maintain close ties to their home communities along the inland rivers.

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[13] Hulley, *Alaska: Past and Present*, p. 18.

Each of the above ethnic Native groups will be described in general detail below, beginning with the Aleuts.

The Aleuts

There is some argument among ethnologists as to the Aleut people's origins, but a general agreement is that they are related linguistically and racially to the Eskimos. Settlement of the islands appears to have taken place incrementally from the Alaska mainland westward, although there is some possibility that small groups also migrated eastward from the Kuriles.[14]

Numbering some 20,000 people at the time of contact with the Russians in 1741,[15] the Aleuts were decimated by slaughter, enslavement and disease, and by 1848 were reduced to about 1,400.[16] Further reductions in number were balanced by intermarriage with the invaders and mainland Eskimos to the east. Forced migration of elements of the surviving population to the vicinity of Kodiak, for economic reasons, changed the composition of that once-Eskimo area.

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[14] U.S. Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, Alaska Natives and the Land, (Anchorage: By the Author, October, 1968), p. 236. (Hereinafter referred to as Alaska Natives and the Land.)

[15] Alaska Natives and the Land, p. 236.

[16] Ibid.

A sea-faring people at the time of contact, the Aleuts have remained so to this day; and despite the harsh treatment received at the hands of the Russians they are the most "Russified" of the Alaska Native peoples. Indeed, this factor cannot be overlooked in present day Alaska for it has become an integral part of the people's cultural characteristics. Aleut names and a large part of the present language are Russian in origin. The Russian Orthodox Church has become "their" church, and it is practically a sine qua non that the definition of an Aleut include some reference to Orthodoxy. Much of modern day Aleut family cohesiveness rests on the foundation of church membership, and serious problems arise when this relationship is stretched or ruptured. Clifford Myers, in a case study of an Aleut college student, noted that a considerable amount of the youth's thoughts on his philosophy of life revolved around the church and his family's connection to the church.[17]

In this case, the Aleuts have adapted to a non-material cultural condition and accepted it as their own. They have viewed the church as good for them, and have used it to bind themselves together and to solidify their relationships. This has been beneficial to them; other cultural adaptations or impositions may not be, and they may react accordingly.

Additionally, except for those Aleut people who have moved inland or to the cities, they remain a marine-oriented people. The majority make their living from the sea, either by fishing, general seafaring or sealing. Even though the technological tools have changed in mechanical complexity, the basic cultural idea--i.e., gaining a livelihood from the sea--has remained as a core of the people's culture.

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[17] Clifford H. Myers, "A Life History Approach to the Study of Social Mobility in Alaskan Native Youth" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Oregon, 1972), pp. 84-86.

The Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians

Southeastern Alaska, an area that lies approximately between Yakutat in the north and Ketchikan in the south, is the traditional homeland of the Tlingit people.

Scattered throughout the area in some dozen permanent villages at the time of contact, the Tlingits had built a civilization on the great salmon runs and on trade.[18] Although they were culturally related to other coastal people living as far south as present day Humboldt Bay, California,[19] the Tlingit people were distinct linguistically from other peoples surrounding them, yet distantly related to the "Na Dene" super-family of languages.

While the Tlingit villages maintained close cultural contacts with each other in the historical past, they were not confederated nor did they perceive a "nationhood" in the Western European sense. Rather, although a "nation of the people" did exist in Tlingit eyes (the word "Tlingit" means "the people"), each subdivision (i.e. village sphere) remained politically autonomous from one another. Only through trade and war agreements were semblances of confederations organized, and these lasted only for the length of the agreed-upon contract. Not until the formation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood in 1912, and other pan-Native organizations, which will be discussed in later chapters, were the people brought together as a whole to pursue non-material, ulterior political and educational goals.

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[18] Philip Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), pp. 1-3.

[19] Ibid.

There is some disagreement among anthropologists and ethnologists as to the origin of the Tlingit people (see Boas, 1911; Keithahn, 1945; Drucker, 1955). By-and-large, the majority tend to agree that the people migrated into Southeastern Alaska from the south by way of the Naas and Stikine rivers in present day British Columbia. Among the people themselves, however, lineage tales and origin legends indicate that they also trekked into the region from the interior, down river valleys and across glacial fields. By the time of contact, in any case, the recognized Tlingit domain stretched well beyond present Southeast Alaska, and included those areas surrounding Dezadeash Lake, Whitehorse, Tagish, and Teslin in the Yukon Territory and Atlin in British Columbia.

In the South, on Prince of Wales Island, the Haidas had established viable communities related to their homeland in the Queen Charlotte Islands of present day British Columbia. Sharing an areal culture with the Tlingits and others in this region of the Pacific Northwest, the Haidas were also noted boat-builders and open ocean seafarers. They mastered and monopolized the art of building huge dug-out canoes which were used for trade with others, up and down the coast.

The Tsimshians, another culturally related people, were concentrated around the region of modern Prince Rupert, B.C., at the time of contact. An Anglican missionary from Britain, Father William Duncan, helped them organize a model village in 1887,[20] and then, due to church related disagreements, moved with them to Annette Island where they established Metlakatla. In 1891, the island was made a reservation for the Tsimshian people living there,[21] one of the few such in Alaska.

The Tlingits, the Haidas and the Tsimshians, lived near and from the sea. They were adept at wood sculpturing and developed a type of abstract art that culminated in the totem pole, which was essentially a mnemonic device used to describe the people's history. Other cultural traits such as the potlatch, origin myths and world-views, although modified at times in detail, were shared and understood by these three groups and others on the Northwest coast. Thus, much of what is said here about the Tlingits holds true, in turn, for the Haidas and Tsimshians.

Tlingit society was, and remains, epitomized by its matrilineal descent pattern that divided the whole of the people into two moieties. Even into present times, a Tlingit is born into one or the other of the two divisions (designated "Eagle" or "Raven") of the people, and traces all relationships of a societal nature through his mother and according to her "side" of the family. The potlatch (see Barnett, 1968) as practiced by the Tlingit has as its basis this descent concept, for it was essentially a recognition rite that authorized the transference of political, social or economic power from one relative to another. Recognition came from the other "side" or moiety and this relationship was so omnipresent to the Tlingit person's self-concept that it influenced most of his social conduct among his peers and much of his behavior toward outside peoples. Ownership of material property and non-material rights and perquisites, such as names, fishing sites, trade routes and "spheres of influence," was also affected by this social mechanism, and it has been a source of conflict between Tlingits and others down to the present time. The Russian Baranof, and others who followed him, were often perplexed with the possessory traits of the Tlingit and were wont to dismiss any disagreements with them as the whims of a "savage" people.

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[20] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 29.

[21] Ibid.

Following the conquest of the Aleuts and the occupation of the Kodiak area, the Russians looked toward an extension of their control over the lands toward the southeast. A colony was planted at Yakutat in 1795, but was abandoned in 1804 following plagues and a massacre by local Tlingits.[22] Sitka (also known as St. Michael, Mikhailovsk, or New Archangel) was established in 1800 by Baranof as an outpost for trading and other purposes. It was destroyed during a Tlingit uprising in 1802, but was re-established in 1804 following a naval cannonading by the Russians and an American free-booter.[23] The Russians maintained themselves in the Sitka area until 1867, but, except for a few other small outposts (e.g., Ft. Wrangell which was established in 1833 to block British access to the Stikine[24]), they did not penetrate the region deeply enough to leave any lasting cultural impression on the people.

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[22] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 119.

[23] Ibid., pp. 126-127.

Consequent to the Russian withdrawal in 1867 following the American purchase, the Tlingit people entered a period that would have a profound effect on their physical environment and their culture. At first, exposed only to the debauchery and avarice of the new soldiers and traders in the Sitka area, the outlying villages in turn later faced deep inroads into their cultural patterns as trappers, traders and gold-miners fanned out into the relatively undisturbed areas of the region. The usual misunderstandings that take place when members of diverse cultures collide were magnified in Southeast Alaska by the American's insensitivity to the Tlingit's social mores and their legal concepts relating to land and other property. The disorganization wrought by devasting diseases, following these contacts, left the Tlingit people in an almost prostrate position for some time as the numbers and activities of the white people from the south began to dominate the region.

Some ten years following the Purchase, Protestant missionaries began activities among the Tlingit people,[25] and were so successful that most of the people espouse that form of Christianity to this day. Russian Orthodoxy remains active among the people only at Sitka and a few other cities such as Juneau, while Roman Catholicism has made few inroads, except through the missionary work around Lynn Canal or by way of intermarriage processes.

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[24] Ibid., p. 160.

[25] Ibid., p. 233. (It is ironic that the first Protestant "missionary" among the Tlingits was a Tsimshian named Philip McKay from Ft. Simpson, B.C. He conducted services and established a school at Wrangell in 1878, and was soon followed by other white missionaries, primarily of the Presbyterian faith.)

A sea-faring people in the past, the Tlingits, Haidas and Tsimshians remain essentially so to this day. Commercial fishing is by far the predominant economic activity that the people engage in, although related work such as cannery, longshoring, bridge and dock building, and such allied construction work as carpentry, are also primary economic areas of endeavor. In contemporary times, the old social patterns have been submerged beneath the blanket of Western European and American influences, yet to sensitive eyes these old patterns often remain only overtly dormant. Even those persons who are highly educated, in the formal Western sense, remain imbued and indoctrinated with much of the Tlingit world-view from the past and readily evidence such when in social intercourse with each other. These behavioral patterns are, of course, more apparent in the outlying villages than in the cities, but are universal enough among the people to elicit considerable comment concerning such patterns as that from Drucker when he described a kind of crude, latter-day potlatching activity observed during Alaska Native Brotherhood Grand Camp meetings.[26] In addition, the people continue to maintain their historical relationships through the matrilineal, *moiety* mechanism, although that has often been modified to blend with Western practices among the young. The "great family" tradition, a phenomenon that is also found among other ethnic Native groups, is particularly strong among a number of families in Southeastern Alaska where clan-like loyalties and obligations are maintained on a wide regional basis. Such family relationships as existed in the past and are still maintained in the present are not often understood by white people, probably because the definition of "family" does not hold to the strict, European concept of patrinomic blood-line, and are thus not capitalized on by educators and others who have the welfare of the people as their *raison d'être*.

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[26] Philip Drucker, The Native Brotherhoods, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 147.

The Eskimos

Possibly no other aboriginal group, save the Navajos of the American Southwest, have been studied, written about and romanticized to such an extent as have the Eskimo people. And yet, not until very recent times has there been anything approaching reality in our knowledge of the Alaskan Eskimo. This is the result, apparently, of the stereotypes that developed because of the overwhelming number of books and articles that dealt with the Canadian and Greenland Eskimos. Much of the material written about these eastern people has very little, if any, application to those of the west. Many early observers of the Alaska Eskimos condemned themselves to irrelevancy by studying materials written about Canadian Eskimos prior to observing those in Alaska and then attempting to fit their observations to their preconceptions. This behavior has been all the more apparent among untrained missionaries, teachers and administrators, and is similar to the general misconceptions mentioned earlier that government agents had of the whole of the Native peoples.

Wendell Oswalt[27] went into considerable detail concerning the diversity of environments that the Eskimo people of Alaska occupied. Nowhere do these areas fit the popular conception of a continually bleak, snow-driven landscape that required the people to live in ice houses (igloos), eat seal blubber and continuously laugh at their hardships. Rather, the picture is one of marked regional diversity, both in landscape and biotic phenomena. Necessary adaptations are made accordingly by the people to these variations and their cultures are so modified. For example, in the south, along the Gulf of Alaska and around Kodiak, it would be absurd to imagine Eskimos living as they do in the Arctic North. It is equally so to believe that they also maintain themselves in that fashion in the Southwest, along the shores of the Bering Sea or inland on the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta.

While all of the Eskimos are related in language, indicating a recent common ancestral relationship,[28] those in Alaska speak a number of dialects that can be grouped into two sub-families known as Yupik and Inupik.[29] Yupik Eskimo is the mother-tongue of the people living in the south, southwest, along the Bering Sea and north to a line of demarcation approximately at Norton Sound. From there north, and then east along the Arctic slope the people speak Inupik. To the unpracticed, these languages are as mutually incomprehensible from one group to the other as French is to Spanish or Italian. On the other hand, Eskimos recognize each other as being a people apart and use several words to identify themselves as the "real people."[30]

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[27] Wendell H. Oswalt, Alaskan Eskimos, (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1967).

[28] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 21.

[29] Oswalt, Alaskan Eskimos, pp. 4-9.

The dominion of the Eskimos completely encircled prehistoric Alaska except for Southeast Alaska, the mouth of the Copper River, Cook Inlet and the Aleut country west of Port Heiden. They were settled primarily near the sea, but some groups took up domicile as far as two hundred miles inland.[31] Only in the far north, along the Arctic, did the people live in a land that was even remotely comparable to that inhabited by the Canadian and Greenland people. And even here, ice houses were not used for living quarters, but rather a type of semi-subterranean sod house was utilized. The vast majority of Alaska Eskimos lived in relatively temperate zones, when compared to the Arctic, hunting and fishing for a wide range of animals according to the habitat. In the Arctic north the people were whalers, while the inland people trekked after the caribou and fished the rivers. Wherever sea mammals existed, as in the Bering Sea, the people hunted them; when there were fish, along the rivers or at such sites as Bristol Bay, Cook Inlet or Prince William Sound, tools and methods were devised or borrowed to capitalize on this resource. Wherever possible food was taken from the land, the sea and the fresh waters in the people's vicinity.

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[30] _Ibid._, p. 28. (The word "Eskimo" comes from the Algonkin people of Eastern Canada and was passed on by the French. It was originally a derogatory term meaning "eaters of raw flesh," but is used readily today by the people to describe themselves.)

[31] _Ibid._, p. 9. (See Appendix I for a list of the Eskimo dialectical groups.)

Dog teams were used in the Interior, along the northern and western coasts in the winter, but not in the southern coastal regions. The classical skin-frame boat known as the kayak, a type of which was also used by the Aleuts, was not as universal as is popularly supposed. The umiak, a large open, skin-frame boat capable of carrying up to a dozen people, was more universal and is still used to a great extent in present day Alaska.

At the time of contact, the regional "borders" of various Eskimo groups were in a fluid state.[32] This was particularly so in the south; but even in the north, inland Indian territory was being absorbed by Eskimos mainly through acculturation and assimilation. In the south, Aleuts were in a period of eastward expansion and were encroaching on traditional Eskimo lands around the Alaska Peninsula.[33] A similar situation existed at Cook Inlet, where the Tanaina Athabascans expanded outward, and above Yakutat as the Tlingits pushed their trading ventures into the region of Prince William Sound. However, a word of caution is required here: these movements were not a result of war or conquest, but rather of a process that involved either adaptation by one group or another or abandonment of traditional grounds. War, as understood by European-oriented people, was not a part of the Eskimo's cultural motifs. They had neither time nor inclination nor technology to engage in large-scale combat. As recently as 1935 an observer pointed out that

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 240-242.

[33] *Ibid.*

> The Eskimo is not a fighter; he fears the Indian, though he may never have seen an Indian. When on the open range herding, whether one or more be in the party, and a stranger is seen in the distance the Eskimo will hide. I have known that to occur when four Eskimo armed with rifles saw two strangers in the distance.[34]

Of course, the above observer missed the point: Why put oneself in a possibly dangerous position by exposure? Hunters are taught very early to be cautious and inconspicuous when out in the field.

Yet, when the Russians first moved into Kodiak in 1763 they were driven off by the local people, and it wasn't until 1784 that a permanent Russian settlement could be established there, following a massacre by Russian cannons.[35] The Russians then proceeded to treat these people as they did the Aleuts, using them as workers, seal hunters and consumers of trade goods. They also successfully established a policy of "Russification" in the area, converting most of the Natives to Orthodoxy and introducing missions and schools. Although the Russian penetration later reached into the Bering Sea region (thus introducing "Gussock," a corruption of "Cossack," as a name for white people into certain Native languages) and in certain instances even into the interior, their hold was only tenuous in the region.

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[34] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, p. 158.

[35] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, pp. 61-62 and 72.

Important cultural changes among the western and northern Eskimos were originally initiated by the European and American whaling fleets that invaded the area from the 1830's until the American Civil War.[36] Following the opening of the Kodiak whaling grounds in 1835 and the successful exploitation of the Arctic in 1848, the fleets, dominated by New Englanders, annually despoiled the villages along the Bering and Arctic coasts by debauchery and the introduction of alcohol and diseases to the people. Harsh treatment by the whalers of the people were on a par with the earlier Russian holocaust in the Aleutians. Although whaling in Alaskan waters revived following the Civil War, its height was reached and its greatest effects felt during the 1840's and 1850's when as many as 300 such ships were present seasonally.[37] One measure of the effect of the shock that this intrusion had on the people is the drop in the population that took place. Rogers reports the populations for the Southwest and Northwest as 26,000 and 28,000 respectively in 1740.[38] By 1890, the populations of the regions were reduced to 10,660 and 2,973, respectively. Subsequent waves of prospectors following the American purchase resulted in further disruptions to the people's cultural fabric and to their numbers.

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[36] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, pp. 186-189.

[37] Ibid., p. 188.

[38] George Rogers and Richard A. Cooley, Alaska's Population and Economy: Regional Growth, Development and Future Outlook, vol. II, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, ISEGR, 1963), p. 28. (Hereinafter referred to as Alaska's Population and Economy.)

Yet, the people survived and have, in fact, reached a population level in recent years that approaches that of the past. Indeed, by 1960, the rate of natural increase, i.e., births over deaths, stood at 38.4 per 1000 people among Natives, including the Eskimos, and Rogers pointed out that

> A rate of natural increase of this magnitude is considered extremely high to the extent of being explosive; over an extended period it would result in the doubling of the native population in less than 20 years.[39]

And although the old southern region of the Eskimo domain around Kodiak, the Gulf and the Peninsula are so heavily impacted by whites today as to be essentially non-Native, the western and northern areas remain seventy to eighty percent Eskimo. Further, while their culture appears to have changed radically in a technological sense, they still maintain their traditions of social intercourse and behavior. Recent research indicates that identity problems, among the Eskimo at least, are not as serious as previously supposed. Chance noted that many adapt by being proficient in both cultures, or at least they master enough of the new to maintain self-confidence and are able to thus generate esteem among their old and new neighbors alike.[40]

Many observers of the Eskimo people have pointed out their eclectic nature and their adaptability. Whether or not these traits can be measured, they do seem to hold great promise for the people's future. In a section regarding government agencies that work among the Eskimo, Norman Chance stressed that "they must tailor the program to fit Eskimo values and goals."[41] He then summarized his thoughts in a passage that is worth quoting in full here:

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[39] Rogers and Cooley, Alaska's Population and Economy, Vol. I, p. 96.

[40] Norman A. Chance, The Eskimo of North Alaska, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 93-95.

> What is needed today is a program that will enable individuals at all levels of the community to participate in the development of their own resources. From a short-range point of view, it may be more efficient to give funds to build a technical school, health center, or construct new roads. But if the Eskimo are to gain greater self-initiative, a greater sense of personal worth, and a greater measure of control over their own future, they must be included as active participants in the development program. An increasing number of north Alaskan Eskimo are ready to undertake these efforts, as the recent Innupiak conferences have shown. The extent to which the government makes use of this potential will bear directly on the success of its over-all policy.[42]

Today, all through the western and northern regions of the state, Eskimo people are building viable mechanisms of self-expression as a direct outgrowth of the land claims settlement.[43] Although all regions are setting up equally dynamic organizations based upon the people's will and participation, none has quite gone the limit as the Arctic Slope Native Association. The people of that area have, on their own initiative, legally constructed a borough government.[44] This government unit covers, by-and-large, all of their ancient homeland, from Point Hope on the west to the Canadian border on the east. The people there are presently setting up their own school system and other typical service agencies, and funding these operations mainly by taxes on the wealth of the local oil fields. The potential that Chance mentions is being utilized to its fullest here and bears close observation by other regions in the state.

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[41] Chance, The Eskimo of North Alaska, p. 98.

[42] Ibid., p. 99.

[43] Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, (85 Stat. 688).

[44] In Alaska, "boroughs" are the local governing units between cities and the State, as counties are in most other states.

The Athabascans

The final group of people to be surveyed are perhaps the most diverse of any yet discussed in this study. For the Athabascan people are not only spread over the largest territory in Alaska, consequently exposing them to a variety of environments, but their wide distribution and minimal contacts with each other tend to produce a heterogeneity of cultural traits. While linguistic relationships of the whole people are clear, the actual dialectical differences that exist between the most far-flung of the groups are serious enough to require interpreters or use of a mutual language when such people meet. Nevertheless, there are also enough other ethnic similarities between the groups to warrant their present categorization, not the least of them being the people's own recognition of their kinship.

As with others, the Athabascans self-concept begins with their designation of themselves as "the people" ("Dina," or "Deenah" and sometimes "Tinneh"). The word "Athabascan" (also spelled "Athapascan," "Athabaskan," or other similar combination of letters) is derived from a lake in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan around which people of such stock lived. In certain parts of Alaska and Yukon Territory the phrase

"Stick Indian" is sometimes used to designate these people, but this has tended to be a derogatory appellation and is resented. In present-day Alaska, the people accept the word "Athabascan" as used here, and use it mutually among themselves.

At the time of contact (1741), the Alaska Athabascans constituted some twelve groups or "tribes" situated along the river systems of the interior. Only at Cook Inlet and Copper River did they have access to the sea, living off these waters very much as their Eskimo neighbors. Numbering about 5,000 in 1741[45] and spread throughout an area not of easy access nor of much interest to whites, the people remained relatively undisturbed until the series of gold rushes prior to and following 1898. It appears that the Athabascan people in Alaska are descended from an earlier wave of Eurasian migrants than are the Aleuts and Eskimos. The linguistic connections of the people to each other over such a wide range in Alaska and northwestern Canada, and then to such far-flung peoples as the Navajo and Apache, indicates a migratory movement spread over tens of thousands of years. Apparently major elements of these people moved on into new hunting territories toward the south, while others maintained themselves in the north.

Often described in the literature as semi-nomadic, in reality they were "seasonally sedentary." Fishing, which supplied a major part of their food supply, required them to move into fish-site areas seasonally. On the other hand, the hunting of moose, caribou and other land mammals necessitated their movement to other areas at other seasons. But these were not wanderings across the land in random fashion; rather, the movements were from homesite to fishing and hunting site and back, and always in specific, recognized localities.[46] W. H. Dall, who collected ethnographic information concerning the Athabascans during field-studies between 1865 and 1874, counted some fourteen dialectical groups or "tribes," linguistically related, who lived in the interior valleys of Alaska at that time.[47] He noted that they used the word "Tinneh" to describe themselves as "the people," and also "Kutchin," or "people of the region."[48] The men wore tanned caribou or mooseskin hunting shirts, fringed, pointed in front and back and decorated with quills and beads. He described them as a handsome people who "were tall and rather slender, but of good physique, of a clear olive complexion, and with straight black hair, arched eyebrows, and without hair upon the face."[49] Dall belied the "nomadic" stereotype that was later applied to Athabascans by pointing out that the people who then lived in the Yukon and Tanana basins were settled in permanent villages of substantially constructed log houses.[50] Only in the eastern and southern fringes of the Alaskan Athabascan home regions did he find that there was a pattern of abandonment of their flimsy structures when they moved to new sites according to season. (Since it was these latter peoples who were first contacted by white traders, trappers and prospectors, the "nomad" appellation probably came from that source and then applied generally to all Interior Indians.) While the major activities of the Athabascan peoples centered on hunting, trapping and fishing along the river valleys and lakes which they occupied, Dall also noted that they conducted a substantial trade and acted as middlemen between the coastal Natives and those in the North.[51] Such patterns of living as described by Dall have, to a large degree, been maintained by the people into the present. They now live in permanent villages and periodically, according to season, move out to hunting, trapping or fishing camps located throughout a wide area of their home regions. In the present, however, they use such machines as the airplane, motor-boat and snowmobile.

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[45] Rogers, Alaska's Population and Economy, vol. II, p. 28.

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[46] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 28.

[47] W. H. Dall, Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877). (See Appendix I for an outline of contemporary Athabascan linguistic groups.)

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-36.

While Dall estimated that there were about 6,100 Athabascans in Alaska in 1874,[52] they presently number approximately 10,000. Today, the Athabascans have control over much more of the land area of Alaska, as a result of the land claims settlement, than any other ethnic group. The potential for mineral wealth from these lands is readily recognized by their leaders, and they have structured their organizations accordingly. The influences of the Eskimo experiment in the north, if successful, will have a long range effect on these people's future.

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[51] W. H. Dall, Tribes of the Extreme Northwest, pp. 26-27.

[52] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

Summary

Alaska was described as a land of variation. Each of the several regions was shown to be climatically and biotically separate provinces tied together to form the larger land mass.

The Native peoples of Alaska were described as ethnically and culturally diverse, having a commonality only in their aboriginal status. Their ancestry, habitat, language and social structure differed from one to the other as much as did nations of people in other parts of the world. Prior to the 18th century, each people maintained a usufructural balance with their country and with each other. But the balance was disturbed after 1741 by the invasions of new people with superior and overpowering technological tools.

First from the west and later from the south, the European-American social order imposed on the Native people had a near disastrous effect. Not only was there a physical destruction in many cases, but there was also a general breakdown in the old social order of the peoples, to one degree or another. Both the Russians and the Americans attempted to "Russify" and "Americanize" the people and, in doing so, used a unicultural approach. Each in turn, dealt with the Native groups in the manner to which they had become accustomed in their homelands.

And so, despite the theme of variability that underlies Alaska-the-land and Alaska-the-people, those who gained jurisdictional and political authority over the region chose to use simplistic tools to ensure hegemony. This was particularly the case under the American rule, where all aboriginal people were treated as "Indians" or "Natives" and provided with social mechanisms of adjustment and survival that were designed to serve other people.

CHAPTER III

A SURVEY OF THE GENERAL EDUCATION OF ALASKA NATIVES: 1741-1972

It may seem presumptuous, at first glance, to attempt to survey an area as important as education in one short chapter of a study such as presented here. Moreover, to propose a discussion of the subject within the context of a 231-year span might suggest generalizations so broad as to be meaningless in respect to an analysis of this study's over-all focus. Such is not the case, however, for a theme that helps to explain the modern evolution of the Native peoples will be introduced here. That theme is "Change."

As will be explained below, total change did not affect the people except gradually. The effect of change on the Native peoples appears to be uneven. At first, the initial shock of the contact between their cultures and that of the Europeans was drastic and sometimes verged on the cataclysmic. In time, though, an adjustment or healing process took place and, as the first waves of the intruders receded after 1867, when the Russians evacuated Alaska, the various Native peoples took up their old ways and continued on as near to "before" as they were able. But gradually, almost in the manner of an in-coming tide, slowly at first and then more swiftly, change became inevitable, omnipresent and intrusive. And the many forms of change--material, psychological, spiritual--influenced the people in different ways: material novelties (implements, weapons) were often accepted without question while the more abstract innovations were either modified or rejected.

Education among the Native peoples represents change in that sense. It was previously noted that cultural and linguistic differences separated the people from each other, so to speak; how change brought them together, and how education was the vehicle will now be described.

There are a number of very good, academic discussions of education in Alaska from the eighteenth century to the present (e.g. the Ray Report of 1959[1]), but the presentation of the subject here will be based within the context of the previous chapter; that is, from the Native person's point of view, "What took place and what was it like?"

To grasp the two and one-third centuries of educational activity that affected the Alaska Native peoples, the period may be divided into the following chronological sequences:

1741-1867: The Russian period and "Russification."
1867-1884: The American missionary movement in Alaska.
1884-1917: "Government Missions" and "Americanization."
1917-1960: The "Two-School System."
1960-1972: The dismantling of the "Two-School System."

The Russian Period

While most authorities on the subject dismiss the Russian period as having little influence educationally on the Native people, for reasons that are explained below, that was not the case. The year 1741, the year of contact, was a most important point of departure. For that year was, in a very real sense, the beginning of the Native's education about white people.

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[1] Charles Ray, A Program of Education for Alaska Natives, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1959). (Hereinafter referred to as the Ray Report.)

Both Baranof and Chirikof, commanders of the Russian vessels that first penetrated Alaska in 1741, were in sight of Natives when they sailed into various inlets to verify their discoveries.[2] Chirikof, indeed, lost sixteen men and two boats to Tlingits in the vicinity of Sitka[3] prior to his return to Kamchatka.

During the period 1742-1770, i.e., the time of the holocaust wrought by the promyshlenniki (freebooter-hunters) on the Aleutians and the coast of South-central Alaska, no attempt was made to convert or otherwise "civilize" the aboriginal inhabitants. To quell the fratricidal nature of the early fur trade, the Imperial government decreed the formation of the Russian-American Company.[4] Russian Orthodox missionaries were consequently dispatched to convert the Natives and to provide solace to the displaced Russian frontiersmen.

Schools were provided by the Company and staffed by the church, but the major purpose was to serve their countrymen. Though Natives could attend these schools, they did so incidentally and usually as children of Russian fathers. The curriculum was basically designed to teach the catechism and to provide vocational training for future employees of the Company. And although the Ray Report states that "No attempt was made by the Russians to establish special schools for the Alaskan natives or to use their schools specifically as a civilizing force,"[5] the end result was the successful "Russification" or "civilizing" of that portion of the people under their direct control. The same study quotes an Alaskan governor's observation in 1892 that the Aleuts had "become thoroughly Russianized. "They talk Russian, belong to the Russian Orthodox church, shade off into Russian blood, features, and complexion, and affect Russian ideas."[6] Other observers, in later years, drew essentially similar conclusions, and visitors to these areas in the present time will have no problem concluding likewise. Perhaps the point is that there was no specific, overt, widespread effort on the part of the Russian missionaries to "de-Nativize" the people as some American missionaries attempted later.

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[2] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, pp. 47-50.

[3] Ibid., p. 48.

[4] Ibid., p. 122. (The Russian-American Company, modeled after the Hudson Bay Company, was given monopoly jurisdiction and authority in the name of the Imperial Crown over Alaska and associated lands, following the Decree of 1799.)

Russian missionary activity declined rapidly following the transfer of Alaska in 1867. Nevertheless, as late as 1887 the Russian government appropriated $20,000 for the maintenance of schools in former Russian-America.[7] These appropriations continued until the revolution of 1917, after which the Alaska branch of Orthodoxy became tied to the larger North American body of the church.

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[5] The Ray Report, pp. 16-17.

[6] Ibid., p. 24.

[7] Ibid., p. 17.

American Missions

Following the withdrawal of the Russians in 1867, a period or "era of neglect" on the part of the American government in regards to its obligations in Alaska was to last some seventeen years. It was a time when the American nation was busy binding its wounds from the recent Civil War and consolidating its western acquisitions. It was the time of Reconstruction and the Grant Administration scandals, of the Indian wars in the West and of settlement and railroad building. The nation was far too preoccupied domestically to exert energetic control over a domain that was, in that era, a far-away, overseas outpost. Alaska, thus, was left to the freebooter entrepreneurs that traditionally operated on the fringes of the American frontier. Except for a customs post and a small detachment of soldiers stationed at Sitka, practically no mechanism of civil or criminal procedures existed in the vast territory of Alaska.

In one respect, the Native peoples were allowed a breathing space. For the void created by non-government forced them, wherever they had been previously exposed, to fall back on their own social and customary resources. However, this was probably a fleeting experience, for the penetration of traders, whalers, fur hunters and prospectors continued unabated. Adjustments to the new conditions had to be made continuously, and the changes that took place in their social and material culture occurred ever more rapidly.

Missionary interest began to stir the societies in the continental United States after the purchase of Alaska. Descriptive letters from soldiers and businessmen, tales from returning "Boston men," and the peculiar urge present among the American people to "save the heathen" from himself, all agitated the more adventurous to spread the gospel and the culture into the north. As previously mentioned, the first Protestant missionary post was established by a Tsimshian at Wrangell in 1878. This was quickly followed by the establishment of other posts, principally by Methodists and Presbyterians. A mission and school was founded at Sitka in 1878 by Sheldon Jackson, the great Presbyterian educator of whom more will be heard later, and a general penetration of the new territory in other places soon followed.

"Government Missions"

The arrival of the missionaries soon led to agitation back home for government intervention into the near anarchical situation that was developing in Alaska. Most were influential in their home states or were kin to people who were. The indefatigable Sheldon Jackson spearheaded the drive for governmental relief and in 1884 succeeded in convincing Congress to act.

A so-called Organic Act (23 Stat. 27),[8] providing for the rudiments of civil government in Alaska, was passed in 1884. Under that Act, the Secretary of the Interior was to establish schools in Alaska "without reference to race" and $25,000 was appropriated. The task of operating the schools was assigned to the U.S. Bureau of Education, and that arrangement was to remain relatively intact until the influx of whites during the gold rushes forced another change in 1905.

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[8] Lester D. Henderson, "Should Alaska Establish Junior Colleges?" (unpublished Master's thesis, Stanford University, 1930), p. 5. (Hereinafter, read such citations "23 Stat. 27" as Volume 23, U.S. Statutes at Large, page 27.)

In 1885, Sheldon Jackson was appointed as general agent for education[9] and proceeded to establish schools in places other than Southeastern Alaska. Despite the great distances and the supply problem involved, schools were successfully founded in the Aleutians and the Northwest. A ship was chartered in 1886[10] and building materials, school supplies and teachers were transported into the remote coastal areas. And despite the near insurmountable difficulties that were present at that time, a network of schools spread throughout the territory and the idea of formal education became gradually implanted among the Native peoples so exposed.

Having access to scant funds and being required to operate in a vast, forbidding foreign land, Jackson ingeniously devised a scheme to mother his resources and to capitalize on the sentiments that had been building up over the years among the missionary societies. He provided the physical facilities and supplies through his office as government agent and permitted the missionary societies to staff the schools. Through this expediency, the missions flourished and for the first time the Native homelands were penetrated everywhere by the new cultural force. A total of eleven Christian sects undertook such missionary-educational work during this period,[11] and schools were planted even in the remote Interior. An unwritten agreement or "gentlemen's code" appears to have existed among the varieties of missionaries concerning spheres-of-influence, for Presbyterians and Methodists were concentrated in Southeast Alaska, Episcopalians in the Interior, and Moravians, Swedish Lutherans and others established themselves in the West and Northwest. The Aleutians and the Kodiak area remained Orthodox, and the Catholics operated out of Holy Cross and Fairbanks. The Christianity of the Native people even today reflects these patterns of religious influence.

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[9] Hulley, Alaska: Past and Present, p. 235.

[10] Angela Mautz, "A Study of Secondary and Higher Education in Alaska" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of California, 1933), p. 21. (Hereinafter referred to as "Higher Education in Alaska.")

The development of the government-mission school system presented the Native people with a learning situation that, although of an informal nature, was to implant in their minds images of much more endurance than those gained in the classroom. These images had to do with the character of the white people, and have formed the basis of a common stereotype ever since. The type of person attracted to missionary work at that time must be considered in order to understand the later implications of his presence. He was dedicated and a believer; he had an infinite faith in his righteousness; he was a humanitarian in the sense of its understanding in his day. Yet, he was also narrow, bigoted, and lacked empathy. He probably had to be all these in order to assume the task presented to him, but these traits worked to build a wall between himself and the people to whom he was committed. In addition, he was inadequately educated in the formal sense and lacked the training to perceive or appreciate values out of context with his own upbringing. The latter, particularly, combined to enshroud him in a mantle of aloofness in his intercourse with the Native people. Mautz, writing sympathetically in 1933 of the hardships endured by the missionary-teacher, presents the image in this fashion:

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[11] The Ray Report, p. 22.

> There were teachers to secure for the far, lonely places where there were none other than wild natives.
>
> The life of the teachers was trying--isolated from associates of their color and race, with perhaps none in the village who spoke English, with shamanism and witchcraft to combat, each had to be teacher, doctor, and nurse. A whole winter often passed without the sight of a white man's face. If a schooner beat into harbor, it was likely to be a whiskey smuggler, which spread pandemonium among the natives. The work of the teacher was not all irksome, for there are compensations in everything. The joy of teaching the kindly, artless, eager young natives, so free from many of the quarrelsome, grasping ways of civilization repayed them for many deprivations and hardhips.[12]

Imbued with the idea of traveling to a far-off place peopled with "wild natives" and hearing tales of such places from "old timers," the teachers could not help but have their preconceived notions of "Indians" reinforced prior to exposure in the field. The myths and legends of frontier America, learned at the knees of fathers and grandfathers presented a picture of a hostile, or at least "barbaric," world into which they were moving for largely altruistic reasons. (A profile of such teachers by Anderson and Eells[13] indicated that nearly half came from the Midwest, were largely from small town, farming stock, and predominantly Protestant. None could speak any of the Native languages, not even when they were veterans with years of service.) The preconceptions built up since childhood days were not modified by orientation services, for none existed, and were projected toward the people with whom they were to come into close association. H. G. Barnett described the process as "redintegration," by which he meant that "The whole of a previous experience is reinstated as a synthesized unit, without parts. . . ."[14] whenever some novel environment or situation was experienced. More specifically, the missionary-teacher, when face to face with a strange people in an alien land, psychologically reached back for a frame-of-reference into which he could place the present phenomenon, dismiss it and go on about his business. Redintegration provided a type of escape mechanism from the hard, intellectual work required of learning from the people about their world-view, their society and their mores. The process was expedient, worked for the short run, but contained a disastrous trap when applied over the long range. That trap was that error was compounded by error, never corrected and never reexamined, until the stereotype of the Native people became documentary evidence used to support prior misjudgments. Barnett presented the process in detail as follows:

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[12] Mautz, "Higher Education in Alaska," pp. 21-22.

[13] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, pp. 251-272.

> The result of redintegration is that a memory record, or a "trace," of a previous configuration is restored in its entirety by the stimulation of part of it by a present experience. Consequently that which is inwardly experienced is referred to that which is only partially presented, with

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[14] H. G. Barnett, Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953), p. 193.

> the conclusion of sameness being consciously or unconsciously drawn. The conclusion of sameness thus rests upon an individual's disregard of the context of the stimulus common part, which disregard enables him to equate the whole of an extant stimulus with the whole of a previous one. There is consequently always some falsification in identification, whether it is realized or not. Often this error is spontaneous and unwitting, but it may be the result of deliberate effort. Sometimes it is never realized that there has been falsification. At other times reexaminations and reevaluations are made that disclose discrepancies. These rechecks may be ignored or passed off as inconsequential, or they may lead to a rejection of the first suggestion of identity. Reevaluations are prompted when suggestions of identity are contested and also by situations that demand rigorous methods of analysis and classification.[15]

And the process worked the other way, too. Having been exposed to missionary-teachers who lived their own lives apart from the general village society, and who were continually harping on such mundane, and irrelevant behavioral patterns as punctuality, rigorous self-discipline and hygiene, the Native people composed a picture of them as being cold, distant, "nosey" and "cranky." This stereotype was reinforced over time, through the telling and retelling of tales down through the generations, until a generalized concept of all white people was molded to fit the preconception. (Teachers and other government workers are still perceived in the model of the missionary-teacher in large areas of rural Alaska.[16])

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[15] Barnett, Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change, p. 193.

[16] Black people, or "black white men" fall into the same category because practically the only types seen in the outlying districts are government workers wearing ties and carrying brief-cases. Other white people are typed according to experiences with traders, miners and fishermen. In modern "Bush" Alaska, the great heroes among the people of all ages are the airplane pilots.

Sheldon Jackson was heavily criticized in his day for the operation of the government-missions. As the century progressed and as more white people moved into Alaska following the gold strikes, first in Southeastern and then in the Interior, many were particularly incensed with the orientation of the school system. He was accused of siphoning off funds for the Native districts and of providing inferior "Indian" education in white communities. Even the missionary societies wrangled with him, and charged favoritism toward one society over another. As the white population increased, dissatisfaction with the status quo was made manifest back in the home districts of the immigrants. Following the great rush into the Canadian Klondike in 1897-98, agitation increased to such an extent, particularly in Skagway which was the port-of-entry for the Interior gold fields, that Congress passed an act in 1900 (33 Stat. 531) by which communities were permitted to organize and fund their own schools. This act was the first step in the establishment of the "two-school system" which soon followed.

The "Two-School System"

In 1901, Congress withdrew all support for Alaskan schools while it designed another bill that would include provisions for local control. The Nelson Act of 1905 (33 Stat. 617) provided that districts in Alaska, outside of organized communities, having a school population of twenty "white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life"[17] could organize a school board and provide education for their children. The schools were to be funded from a common "Alaska Fund" which drew revenues from taxes on liquor and trade. In 1912, a second Organic Act (37 Stat. 512) provided the machinery for territorial government and all educational activities normally associated with local control were gradually handed over to that level of government for supervision, except education for Natives.

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[17] Henderson, "Should Alaska Establish Junior Colleges?" p. 6.

By 1917, the U.S. Bureau of Education was relieved of its educational responsibilities in Alaska for all but the Native peoples. In that year the Territorial legislature passed a basic school law (64 SLA 1917) which provided for the appointment of a Commissioner of Education who was responsible to the governor and charged with the supervision of all schools in the Territory not maintained by the U.S. Bureau of Education.[18] Further legislation reinforced that position and those series of acts, i.e., of 1900, 1905, 1912, and 1917, instituted and institutionalized a system of educational segregation possibly unheard of outside the old American South. It is a quirk of the American conscience, perhaps, to recognize the weakness, immorality or inequity of a situation, to have the power, influence, or authority to proceed with corrective measures, but to vacillate. The first Territorial Commissioner of Education had recognized the destructive seed implanted into the Alaskan society by the "two-school system," as he made clear in a thesis written in 1930,[19] but he, like others who followed, served his time in a responsible position and departed without seriously pressing for change.

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[18] Ibid., p. 8. (Hereinafter, read such citations as "64 SLA 1917" as Chapter 64, Session Laws of Alaska, 1917.)

The federal government, ever reluctant to assume responsibility over areas (such as education) that were traditionally the domain of local governments, had attempted to withdraw totally from the school system that had evolved since Sheldon Jackson's time. Territorial officials, however, maintained that the education of Native children was a federal responsibility, just as Indian education was in the continental United States. A series of court decisions and legal interpretations upheld this view. Even following the Citizenship Act of 1924 (43 Stat. 253), it was held by the Federal Courts that Natives "not living a civilized life" were still considered to be wards of the federal government and therefore need not be educated by the Territory or its subdivisions.[20] As time passed, the arguments for maintaining the "two-school system" became more economic than legal. Negotiations took place from time to time between agencies of the federal and Territorial governments to transfer schools to Territorial and local responsibility, but these came to naught because, in the end, the Territory claimed it could not afford to absorb the schools in question.

Through the 1920's and particularly in the 1930's, the "two school system" operated under conditions of a most arbitrary and capricious nature. Whites were allowed to attend Native schools in the outlying districts where white schools did not exist; Natives, in some cases, could attend white schools if their parents were able to convince the authorities that they were living a "civilized life." Some towns contained both white and Native schools, and Natives connived and schemed to get their children into white schools, for it was common knowledge that the "government" or Native schools were of an inferior quality. Many Native families began to claim white ancestry in order to meet the qualification of "children of mixed blood," spelled out in the Nelson School Law, or to emphasize white features that existed in their children. Many others turned their backs on their friends and relatives, totally disavowing their heritage, lest they be tarred with the brush of not adhering to a "civilized life." Whole villages and people became divided over the issue, and the trauma resulting from that time still affects the intercourse of large numbers of Native people, particularly in the older generation.[21]

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[19] Henderson, "Should Alaska Establish Junior Colleges?" pp. 4-7.

[20] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, pp. 444-448. (This work contains a complete brief in the pages cited on the status of Alaska Natives by the solicitor of Department of the Interior, dated February 24, 1932.)

By 1930, the Bureau of Education maintained 101 "Stations" which serviced some 3,890 Native students.[22] In 1931, the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs (later the Bureau of Indian Affairs) was assigned the responsibility of educating Native children and "education in Alaska came more directly in line with the overall objectives of Indian education in the United States."[23] A slight shift in philosophy followed the transfer, but basically the curriculum remained focused on that of the Bureau of Education: exposure to rudimentary English, training in vocational crafts and personal and community hygiene.[24] The Ray Report notes an additional "policy of 'creaming off' the brightest boys and girls, sending them to boarding schools for a basically vocational education, and then returning them to their villages where they were expected, by teaching and example, to render service to their neighbors."[25] At first, the children had been sent to Wrangell or other Indian schools in the continental states. But the effects of separating children for long periods from their parents were noted and boarding schools were established at Eklutna, Kanakanek, and at White Mountain.[26] After World War II, a decommissioned naval base was turned over to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Mt. Edgecumbe Boarding School became the principal secondary institution for Native students in Alaska. It is ironic, however, that such boarding schools should proliferate after it was realized that sending children away from their kin was not a healthy sociological experience. Mt. Edgecumbe, situated on Baranof Island in Southeast Alaska, was well over 1,000 miles from the bulk of Native

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[21] The author of this study is not aware of any professional studies dealing with the social and psychological ramifications of the "two-school system." The older Native people today do not like to talk of those times, and generally try to hush or divert such inquiries. But anyone who is a product of that period, as this writer is, cannot but remember with trepidation the disruption, insecurity and degradation that is the fruit of such discriminatory practices.

[22] Mautz, "Higher Education in Alaska," p. 29.

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[23] The Ray Report, p. 37.

[24] Mautz, "Higher Education in Alaska," p. 30.

[25] The Ray Report, p. 36.

[26] _Ibid_.

Alaska. In the 1960's other plans were initiated by the state to build boarding facilities near Native populated areas, and still others to provide boarding homes in the large metropolitan centers. In all cases, however, children had to be transported to areas that were alien to them and to spend lengthy periods of time away from their parents. As late as 1972, a decommissioned Air Force station near Kenai[27] was proposed as a boarding facility for Native students, even though Kenai was at least 400 miles from the center of prospective clients.

In the rural Territorial schools, and later in the rural State Operated Schools, Native students in attendance were confronted with yet a further experiential difficulty, even though such schools were recognized as being superior to those manned by the federal government. The curriculum was designed in Juneau or some other metropolitan center and passed down to the rural areas without regard to local desires or needs.

> Despite the fact that the great majority of students attending rural Territorial schools was native, little consideration, or even mention, of the problems of native education can be found in the official educational statements of the Territory. In the report of only one Commissioner of Education was recognition given to the fact that the rural schools of the Territory were not doing the work for which they were established and that the curriculum was not adapted to the needs of the people for whom this education was designed. The curriculum during this period was designed primarily for the white population. Specific standards were established which were unrealistic in terms of the background, needs, and outlook of the native groups. While lip service was paid to modern educational concepts, and the Cardinal

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[27] Wildwood Station. The proposal came from, of all places, the Alaska Federation of Natives, despite the advice of Native educators to the contrary.

> Principles of Secondary Education (to which were added the principles of Leadership-followership and World-mindedness) were set forth as the basic objectives of education in Alaska, the Territorial curriculum offered little room for flexibility. The objectives of education in rural schools were the same as for city schools, and in 1942, the Commissioner of Education described the elementary program in the rural schools as virtually the same as that found in the smaller city systems. In 1939, an elementary school program of study, prepared by a professor of education at the University of Alaska, was adopted and sent to all Territorial schools.[28]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, following the 1940's, began to inject programs concerned with Indian heritage and culture into their curricula but such efforts were more often "spur-of-the-moment" attempts rather than well-thought-out, integral portions of a planned curriculum. The execution of many innovative trials of this nature was left up to unskilled and untrained teachers and the material was most often imported from "Indian" or other minority areas. In many cases, even when local talent and ideas were solicited, a reluctance and outright hostility was evidenced on the part of the Native people. The years of "civilizing" the "uncivilized" bore fruit, and many parents were not prepared to expose their much harried cultural past to public view. Perseverance, experience, the application of scholarship and the building up of trust relationships gradually made successes of some programs as others foundered. By the 1960's, both the Bureau schools and those of the State Operated system began to build curricula potentially relevant to local clientele. They were, by then, well on the way to providing a type of education for the people they served that had been enjoyed by the white Alaskan population since 1905: locally designed with local needs in mind.

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[28] The Ray Report, pp. 44-45.

In looking back at the era of the "two-school system" in Alaska, certain features appear that are worth mentioning. For example, it would seem that one contributing factor to the existence of such a system, other than the legalistic and economic ones mentioned previously, was that of the psychological insecurity of the waves of new immigrants that moved into the Territory during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Even a cursory reading of the United States history concerning the westward movement of the frontier indicates that as the people moved west into new lands, their toleration of violence and prejudicial expressions increased. The "good-Indian-is-a-dead-Indian" syndrome was one level of their intolerance; the California anti-Chinese riots was another. The westward moving frontiersman was the "psychological father" of many who moved into Alaska in the 1890's. Indeed, in some cases, he was one and the same: 1898, the height of the Klondike stampede was not too distant in time from the 1870's and 1880's when large portions of the West were still being settled, and men like the Dalton Brothers and Wyatt Earp were known to have participated in the Northern stampedes.

By examining Table 1, "Major Components of Alaska's Population Growth, 1840-1960," one may picture the explosive growth that took place during the 1890's and later. Despite the declines due to disease and other social dislocations in the previous decades, the Alaska Natives were in a clear and overwhelming majority position up to 1890. It is worth noting at this point that the educational provisions of the Act of 1884 required schools to operate "without reference to race." Although agitation for restrictive entrance requirements was present during this time, especially in the growing Southeastern districts, such pressures were largely ignored by Washington officials. Then, following the gold strike of 1898, when close to 30,000 whites flooded across the land, the demands for a separate school system were overwhelming. From 1900 through the 1930's, when the balance between whites and Natives fluctuated back and forth but remained about even, Alaska witnessed the harshest aspects of the "two-school system" and felt its most rigorous application. It was as though the white population was compelled to enforce its dominance by other than physical means. Following the military build-up during the 1940's and later, the population of Alaska became overwhelmingly white. At that point, an easing of discriminatory school practices was possible.

Sociological research tends to corroborate this observation. Berelson and Steiner write that "There is more discrimination in those areas containing the largest proportions of the minority group, and thus the largest threat to the political, economic, and social position of the majority."[29] Furthermore, wherever whites came into contact with large numbers of Natives willing and able to compete, as in the fishing ports and mining camps, prejudice and discriminatory practices loomed ever larger because the Natives did not "keep their place." A sociologist writes of that situation as follows:

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[29] Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), p. 515.

> Analysis of those racial situations in which prejudice is most pronounced would seem to indicate that of still greater significance is the development of a feeling, on the part of the members of a dominant group, that they are under threat of displacement from an established social situation; that is, race prejudice is usually acute in those situations in which members of a dominant group have come to fear that the members of a subordinate group are not keeping to a prescribed place of exclusion and discrimination but instead threaten effectively to claim the privileges and opportunities from which they have been excluded.[30]

Of course, regardless of the narrow backgrounds of the uneducated immigrants, prejudice could have been muted through official action or by examples set by the people's leaders. This was not to be so, and in fact, some officials and leaders were the worst offenders in their time. A high government official wrote the following report in 1903:

> It is well enough to teach them the white man's alphabet and teach them to use the white man's pen, but it would be much better to teach them the white man's manner of using the hoe and other implements of productive industry. If there has been a misdirected effort in the behalf of any aboriginal people it is the effort which seeks to at once raise them to the same intellectual place upon which the white man stands to-day after centuries of mental culture and development. These natives should first be taught how to procure bread and meat, how to use hygienic measures, how to live in their homes, and when this is done it will be ample time to develop them along the line of the white man's intellectuality. There may be isolated cases in which our schools will develop a man of ability among them, but it is idle to think the educational methods which fit the white man's child can be applied to the children of these fish-eating people, who are yet in the clan stage of development. It is idle to think that our schools can bring the child of the foul-smelling, witch-

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[30] Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, p. 514. (Emphasis in the original.)

> infested aboriginal hut to a status where he can compete with the white men.[31]

The report further recommended that citizenship rights should be granted to Natives "except that of voting," for the franchise would "bring them into conflict with whites."[32] Clearly, the ordinary white people of that day had no problems in rationalizing and justifying their own prejudices.

Not all observers portrayed the Native people in quite the negative light as that described above. The more intellectual and sensitive writers, particularly those who spent some time among the Native people and maintained an objective approach, were able to discern patterns of behavior and cultural values equal to the highest aspirations among civilized people everywhere. Missionaries were often impressed at the ready acceptance of Christian teaching where such stressed the nobility and the "goodness" of the human person. John Muir, following two extended sojourns through Southeastern Alaska in 1879 and 1880, noted that the missionary message of one fatherhood for all peoples was easily grasped by the people there because they saw more likenesses between whites and Natives than differences. Education was considered to be an extension of the Christian message and was eagerly sought by the Native leaders as a necessity for the people in that time of social stress and change. The actual application of the educational process in the schools, however, must have caused some consternation among the parents.

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[31] Witten, Report on Interests of Alaska, pp. 29-30.

[32] Ibid., p. 43.

Muir was impressed with the "good breeding, intelligence, and skill" of Tlingit children, and went on to say that he had

> . . . never yet seen a child ill-used, even to the extent of an angry word. Scolding so common a curse in civilization, is not known here at all. On the contrary the young are fondly indulged without being spoiled. Crying is very rarely heard.[33]

Similar treatment of children was observed by Norman Chance[34] among the Northern Eskimo and was supported by Michael Cline who taught among the Nunamiut (inland) Eskimos.[35] Positive encouragement of desired behavior, rather than negative scolding and harping, appeared to be the predominant method of controlling children. Patience, repetition, showing-by-doing, and reminding were traditional methods used to pass on knowledge. Chance, noting the stress on remembering that Eskimos consider important in the learning process, quoted an older man's lecture to children:

> We stir them up a little to live right. Tell them to obey the parents. Do what people tell them to do. And like now, when they go on a camping trip, not to take a new pillow. It get dirty on the trip. Take old one. They young. They don't know what to do. We tell them how to do things. Like our parents used to tell us. Same they used to talk to us. We used to talk a lot like

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[33] John Muir, Travels in Alaska, (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1915), p. 138.

[34] Norman A. Chance, The Eskimo of North Alaska (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 22-28.

[35] Michael S. Cline, "The Impact of Formal Education upon the Nunamiut Eskimos of Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska: A Case Study" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Oregon, 1972), pp. 95-97 and 191.

> that but we haven't lately. We begin again. Stir them up. They forget.[36]

When imported teachers set up traditional schools, patterned after the systems they had attended in the "States," and then applied those methods of education and discipline to Native children, the result often led to conflict within the communities. Children, in many cases, were spanked for the first time in memory and in some circles such treatment of the young was tantamount to insulting and challenging whole lineages. In Southeastern Alaska, particularly, where lineage relationships were so important, the mere tapping of a child on the head with a book could lead to serious parent-teacher conflicts.

Unfortunately, observers of the calibre of John Muir were in the minority or their message was not understood. Because of the dearth of objective studies, because of the negligible leadership among administrators, and because of the high turnover of teachers,[37] mistakes that were made in the early days were repeated and often compounded in later times.

But the schools proliferated over time and education as a change factor in the lives of the people flourished in all regions. Even though attainment levels may seem slight in relationship to the total population (see Tables 6 and 7), nevertheless the impact on the Native people was considerable when it is recognized that the school years completed are median figures, and that the range from 1939 to 1960 included almost a generation. Material changes that had occurred were especially noticeable among the Native people. Different clothing, food, weapons and other hunting implements were readily adopted everywhere. Radio broadcasts, movies, magazines and newspapers were more easily understood by those who had attended schools than those who had not. Transportation, whether by plane, boat (or later snow-machine), became mechanized, and those who were able to order parts through catalogs or read printed instructions and schemata were at a distinct advantage over those who could not. To a large degree, the formally educated became a new elite among the Native people and their services and advice were sought. That factor alone was enough to change the old societal patterns drastically.

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[36] Chance, The Eskimo of North Alaska, p. 23. (The writer of the present study has observed similar philosophies of education among the Native people. When asked what is most important in teaching children, an older Eskimo man replied, "Showing and reminding. When a kid doesn't know, you show him. When he forgets, you remind him." Tlingit parents respond that "You've got to tell him first," or "He's young, he forgets. When he forgets, you've got to tell him again.")

[37] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, pp. 242-243. (The average tenure was 2.2 years in 1930, drawn from a study of 1,079 teachers over a 15-year period.)

But how much does the covert, internal or traditional culture change in such circumstances? That is, were the people truly becoming assimilated with the general Alaska society? Were they becoming "Americanized" internally as well as externally? As was previously mentioned in this study, even among highly educated Tlingits it was observed that they had maintained contacts with those areas of the old culture that were considered the most important to them and their relations--i.e., in the moiety and family relationships. The same appears to be true with the other ethnic groups in Alaska, and an explanation is offered by modern socio-psychological studies.

Social changes desired by the people can be made easily and with few problems. However, changes not in conformity with general desires are resisted and are instituted only at high cost. One author explained it in this fashion:

> We have learned the pleasing truth, that society talks back. Even the small-scale, technologically inferior peoples of the world have tremendous powers to resist changes they do not want, and to adhere, often at great cost, to their valued and distinct ways of life. At the same time, we have learned that changes which people desire, radical or not, can be made swiftly, without great cost, and that a society may nearly redo itself--in a generation--if it wants to.[38]

Furthermore, material objects and technological innovations, such as tools, clothing and machines, that do not infringe on what the people consider important or sacred are accepted earlier than are non-material characteristics such as ideals and social organization. And, since "That which was traditionally learned and internalized in infancy and early childhood tends to be most resistant to change in contact situations . . .,"[39] they form a core or reference point to return to, especially in stress situations. People in contact situations tend to operate in two or more worlds: weddings, funerals and other public functions in vigorous Native societies are clothed in "white men's" (Christian or parliamentary) forms for the general population, and then rescheduled later for Native reconfirmation practices. But even these latter patterns have been modified, depending on the degree of acculturation accepted by the people, and changed in form from the old days. Change, then, has been a constant factor among the people; it is resisted in some instances and accepted in others, but it is omnipresent.

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[38] Berelson and Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings, p. 614.

[39] Ibid., p. 653.

One further observation concerning the general Alaska society should be presented here. It is an error to presume that the village or rural peoples live in "simple" societies and that, therefore, they will have difficulties mastering the "complex" society of the city. That idea is a myth, and its perpetuation has caused untold hours of wasted effort on the part of educators in the "bush" who attempt to explain the "mysteries" of the city by conjuring up unreal situations, as examples, in such a manner as to frighten the children rather than edify them. Anyone who has grown up in a village and then moved to a city soon learns that it is, in fact, easier to manipulate situations in the city than in the village. One may simply disappear in a city crowd or district; one seldom finds a hiding place in a village. The rather simple matter of borrowing money in a city from a bank becomes complex and fraught with innumerable pitfalls of an inter-personal nature in a village. Family relations tend toward the nuclear in a city, even when relatives are close by, but remain extended in a village and must be continually maintained at a high level. The idea that city life is complicated and village life is simple perhaps had its genesis in the total structuring and intricate relationships between the parts of urbanized, industrial societies. This is true, but one need not understand the functions of Wall Street or the Federal Reserve Board to earn and spend money in a city, nor to even be aware of the food supply chain prior to purchasing a steak at a shopping center. In the village, however, it is incumbent that one be aware of all human and social factors that impinge on his life constantly. To be invited on a hunt or to share in a catch consistently, requires the highest order of awareness in social intercourse. Teachers would do well to shed their paternalistic notions on this matter and learn from observing the intricate patterns of village behavior.

The Dismantling of the "Two-School System"

The evolution of education in Alaska from 1960 to 1972 was marked by an imperceptible decline in the "two-school system." Federal and Territorial agencies continued to negotiate throughout the 1950's in attempts to transfer school operations, without cost, to the Territory.[40] Studies, plans and proposals continued to be presented but were finally judged "unworkable" because of mutually incompatible demands, or that federal school plants were not up to Territorial standards, or associated community problems such as health and communications were too complex.[41] By 1960, following passage of the Act of Statehood (72 Stat. 351) in 1958, the provisions of the new state's constitution had been in effect for two years. Article VII, Sec. 1, specifically stated that "The legislature shall by general law establish and maintain a system of public schools open to all children of the State . . .,"[42] but the same reasoning that was used in the past was applied with a new rationalization: the financial burdens of statehood were so overwhelming, the new state could not afford to act on its constitutional obligation in the area of education. Bureau of Indian Affairs schools continued to operate throughout Alaska, though they were concentrated in the Northwest, while the State organized a separate system of State Operated Schools[43] for the rural areas and the military bases. Both Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and State Operated Schools were wholly funded by the federal government.

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[40] The Ray Report, pp. 53-57.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

In 1934, Congress passed the Johnson-O'Malley Act (48 Stat. 596)[44] and added later amendments which provided federal funds for the public education of Indians who resided on tax-exempt lands held in trust by the Secretary of the Interior. Since most of Alaska fell into this category, the rural Territorial schools and later the State schools that educated Native students were supported by this means. A 1953 amendment to Public Law 815 (64 Stat. 967) provided construction funds for schools with Indians in attendance and a similar amendment to Public Law 874 (64 Stat. 1100) in 1958 insured the availability of federal impact funds for Native education.[45] (Johnson-O'Malley funds were thereafter used as supplementary to the above.) In Alaska, all such federal moneys were deposited in the State's general fund and then appropriated from that fund by the legislature in the normal manner.[46]

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[42] *The Constitution of the State of Alaska.*

[43] Alaska State Operated Schools were maintained by the Department of Education until 1971, when a separate board was established and specifically charged with overseeing such non-B.I.A., non-district schools. City and borough district schools remained independent as before.

[44] U.S. Congress, Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge*, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., Report 501, 1969, pp. 32-33.

Despite continued negotiations to phase out federal school operations in Alaska, by 1969 the Bureau of Indian Affairs was still operating seventy-three elementary day schools and two boarding high schools with a total Native student population of 6,793.[47] In that same year, the State Board of Education issued a report in which it noted that thirty Bureau of Indian Affairs schools had been transferred since 1952 and that 41 more would be absorbed by 1971.[48] In fact, in 1971, the Bureau continued to maintain 55 schools containing 5,919 students.[49] No change was reported at the end of 1972, and the "two-school system" continues its slow demise.

On the other hand, the State Operated Schools and the local district schools continued to enroll an increasing number of Native students in the decade of the 1960's. In the 1960-61 school year, 7,798 elementary and 1,007 high school Native students attended non-Bureau of Indian Affairs schools; by 1970-71 these totals had increased to 11,699 and 3,609 respectively.[50] Such increasing numbers of educated young Natives, particularly in the secondary schools where more and more were receiving education comparable to their white peers, exposed a further dimension of the change that was taking place in Alaska. These changes had particularly to do with the white institutions: elementary, secondary and tertiary.

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Budgets thus met by the legislature for the operation of military On-Base and rural Native schools were federally rather than locally funded. The public, as well as many legislators, remained confused over that fact and believed that state tax payers were supporting those schools.

[47] Ibid., pp. 210 and 213. (Appendix III provides examples of the curricular content of Alaskan school programs during different periods of history.)

[48] Alaska Department of Education, A Prospectus for Rural Education in Alaska (Juneau: Alaska State Board of Education, 1969), p. 19.

[49] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Statistics Concerning Indian Education: Fiscal Year 1971 (Washington: BIA, Office of Education Programs, 1971), pp. 10-11.

District elementary and secondary schools, as was pointed out previously, had followed unimaginative and traditional curriculums in the past. As Native enrollments increased in white districts, and as more of the students stayed in school over a longer period of time, efforts were made by educators to accommodate this relatively unassimilated segment of the population. In addition, during the decade of the 1960's there had been a national recognition of the plight of "minority" groups (such as blacks, Mexican-Americans, Orientals, etc.) and pressures were applied everywhere to revise curricula in the interest of ethnic diversity. In Alaska, by far the largest ethnic minority was the Native peoples. Ethnic oriented programs proliferated throughout the state and for a time those innovational activities were as popular as the "new math" programs of the 1950's or the "progressive" movement of the 1920's. The results were mixed, as should be expected of programs that are innovative, colorful, popular, but scholastically unsound. Sensitivity to and awareness of the cultural diversity of the general Alaskan society was possibly absorbed by numbers of people who had not previously had such ideas placed into their perspective. Children's art included maps and drawings of totem poles on the North Slope, Eskimos in fur parkas in Southeast Alaska, and the ubiquitous igloo in the Aleutians.[51] Native adults, especially those with post-high school training and education were drafted as instant-experts in all areas of Native life, regardless of how complicated or technical the problems were.

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[50] State of Alaska, Department of Education, Juneau, Alaska: Letter dated May 30, 1973. (Data obtained from final Annual Reports submitted by each district and school to the Department of Education.)

Of a more serious nature, perhaps, was that of high government agencies and institutions that became swept up in the euphoria of the times and compounded misunderstandings by having materials produced under their imprimatur that were either in serious factual error or in doubtful taste. An early effort of the Rural School Project, under the auspices of the University of Alaska and the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, depicted a Native child buying a pumpkin in a rural trading post for Halloween,[52] pointed out that one of the merits of George Washington was that "he went to fight the Indians,"[53] mentioned that Buffalo Bill Cody "helped men get across Indian lands,"[54] and instructed the teacher to present Thanksgiving as follows:

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[51] This writer was an elementary and junior high school teacher during that decade and personally observed the above.

[52] University of Alaska, The Alaskan Holiday Book (Portland, Ore.: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1968), pp. 10-15.

[53] Ibid., p. 36.

> Indians and pilgrims are depicted here so that the pupils can note the differences in facial characteristics, in dress, and in what is carried by each. Tell the children that while Indians loved bright colors and ornaments, it was against the religious beliefs of the Pilgrims to dress in any but the dullest of colors. Discuss the homes of the Indians of the forest, and remind the children that many of the Pilgrims had come from fine homes in England and were used to living comfortably. Note that in each case it was the style of the times for the children to dress very much like their parents. Discuss why the Indian carries a primitive stone ax (and how he used it) while the Pilgrim man carries a musket, or gun. Using a wall map, show the children England and trace their voyage to the East Coast. Tell the children that the Pilgrims would have starved to death if the Indians had not shown them how to plant corn and given them food to last over the winter. Be sure to emphasize that the corn was used to make bread, since bread is referred to in the poem.[55]

"The Alaskan Readers," a series of work, coloring and story books produced for the rural schools, attempted to present typical rural Alaskan scenes and situations rather than the traditional "Dick and Jane" variety. A host of problems, however, resulted in the material being less effective than it otherwise might have been if careful, scholarly and technical procedures had been applied. The stories were generally not from the people's own cultural milieu, but were rather of a standard American situation reworded to fit Alaskan scenes. Inadequate funding, perhaps, resulted in amateurish, charcoal illustrations by people who had only a scant empathy with Native life. The books were produced in dull, black-and-white mimeographed copy. As late as

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 66. (Emphasis in the original.)

1971, a revised version of a fifth level reader contained a fishing story with an illustration of a boy hanging fish to dry. The fish were hung wrong, however, with the flesh inside where it would mold rather than facing out into the air and sunlight.[56] But the major problem encountered by attempts to produce materials and programs, as above, was the one described in Chapter I of this study: that is that ethnic, regional and environmental differences of the people must be considered prior to the production and proliferation of such material. A Northwest Eskimo scene is as culturally irrelevant to an Interior Athabascan child or a Southeast Tlingit as "Dick and Jane" was to all of them. That type of work is costly, time-consuming and demanding, but if the idea of "cultural relevancy" is educationally sound, and it appears that it is, then the price must be paid.

In the social realm, other forces had worked to insure that change would be an all-intrusive aspect of the people's lives by 1972. Although Natives had participated in the electoral process since the Citizenship Act of 1924, only a few had gained political prestige and authority within the Territorial power structure. Following the excitement of the statehood movement, the convening of the Constitutional Convention, the passage of the enabling legislation and the campaign for ratification by all the people, the participatory effects raised the Native people's interest and opened avenues to power for their leaders. A number of young men and women, more formally trained than any of their predecessors, and with the ability to maintain a multi-cultural sophistication unheard of in the past, were available to take advantage of the times and, through the political process, successfully press for a settlement of their people's long-standing claims to the land. For despite the variations between the peoples, and notwithstanding the changes that had occurred over the past 200 years, they had one common reference above all others: the land.

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[56] University of Alaska, Fun in the Village (Portland, Ore.: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 1971), p. 124.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION: STATEHOOD AND LAND CLAIMS SETTLEMENT

> When we speak of discrimination we do not necessarily mean to imply that we are discriminated against intentionally. What we do mean is that we have less than full participation in the plans and programs which affect our future.
> --Testimony at Alaska Statehood Hearings, 1957.[1]

> Our children are going to school in distant places. We want them home. We would like to improve our villages to meet modern living conditions with running water. We would like to send our children to institutions of higher learning of our choice. We would like job training for the workers of our area. We do not want to always live off the taxes other people pay. We want to earn our own way and pay taxes to support public services we all need, and to have the same freedom to make choices in our lives other people do.
> --Testimony at Alaska Native Land Claims Hearings, 1969.[2]

The above two statements represent over a half century of a struggle for self-determination and local control that culminated in the passage by Congress of two pieces of legislation that have changed the major aspects of Alaska's general society: the Alaska Statehood Act of 1958 (72 Stat. 339) and the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971

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[1] Hearings before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on Statehood for Alaska, 85th Cong., 1st Sess., (1957). (Hereinafter referred to as "Alaska Statehood Hearings.")

[2] Hearings before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on Alaska Native Land Claims, Part II, (HR10193, HR13142, HR14212), 91st Cong., 1st Sess., (1969). (Hereinafter referred to as "Land Claims Hearings.")

(85 Stat. 688). Those two Acts were phases or steps, in a process that will be described here as "self-determination" and is related to that known in other places as "decolonization."[3] The term self-determination, as used in this study, is viewed as a process by which a people, as in Alaska, break the patterns of former paternalistic treatment and, in doing so, change the relationship between themselves and the larger society of which they are a part. The change, specifically, results in their achievement of equality and autonomy in their intercourse with the greater society. In contrast with the process of decolonization that sometimes took place in other areas of the world by means of violent, revolutionary action, the development in Alaska followed traditional American political practices and was confirmed through legislative acts. Having legality, the process in Alaska avoided the massive upheavals so prevalent in other places. Nevertheless, the results were the same: the people involved "felt" that their legal, political, economic and social positions had been bettered, and that they had more control over their own destinies.

Alaska statehood had the effect of transforming the relationship between the people of the former Territory and those of the Nation to a more equal footing; the Alaska Native Claims Settlement had a like effect in the relationship between the Native peoples and those of the greater society of the State. Following is a description in more detail of that process.

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[3] The process of decolonization is recognized in the field of political science, but very little has been written about it in the U.S. Certain French writers (e.g., Albert Mabilieu, Decolonisation et Régimes Politiques en Afrique Noire, Paris, 1967) have used the phrase to describe the breakup of the old French colonial network, particularly in West Africa, but the phrase has not been used as a descriptor, so far as this writer is aware, for domestic political, social and economic changes in the U.S. as is here presented.

The Statehood Issue

In his book, The State of Alaska, Ernest Gruening presented as his theme the need for Alaska to achieve statehood in order to escape the stultifying effects of federal paternalism and to develop the new state's potential through autonomous self-government.[4] The first edition of the book, written in 1954, prior to the achievement of statehood in 1958, obviously set the stage for the statehood movement in the decade of the 1950's, provided an intellectual rationale for that movement, and later helped propel Gruening to Congress as a U.S. Senator.

The first statehood bill was offered to Congress in 1916 by the Territory's non-voting delegate to the House, James Wickersham.[5] This, of course, was turned aside but other bills were submitted periodically until the Act of 1958 was passed. Following President Harding's trip to Alaska in 1923, in which he made a speech that hinted at support for statehood in the more populous region of Southeastern Alaska, an embryonic statehood "convention" was called at Juneau. A memorial was passed and forwarded to Washington requesting a division of the Territory so that the state of "South Alaska" might be organized and incorporated into the Union.[6] Once the memorial was mailed, the delegates dispersed and the statehood issue lay dormant until after World War II.

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[4] Ernest Gruening, The State of Alaska, (New York: Random House, 1968).

[5] Ibid., p. 198.

Following the war, when a great influx of people moved into the Territory (see Table 1) to build and support the military bases that were established there, a type of immigrant very different from those of the past settled around the growing cities of Anchorage and Fairbanks. Many of the new immigrants retained contacts in their home states and were, by and large, highly literate and articulate people who were intent on building a life in Alaska's cities similar to what they had left behind in the "states." A longing for the stability of statehood, of having representatives in Congress, and of voting in the presidential elections motivated many people to support a statehood movement.

In 1945, the Territorial Legislature passed a memorial to Congress requesting statehood legislation, and in 1946 a referendum was held by which the people of Alaska overwhelmingly approved the concept.[7] Opposition quickly gathered in Congress, however, and the movement was kept alive from year to year for a decade by a small group of extremely dedicated and skillful political leaders. Certain people and organizations opposed statehood out of a fear that a state government in Alaska would be too costly for the Territory's narrow tax base. Others, both in Alaska and in Congress, were in opposition simply because they were satisfied with the status quo. Certain political leaders, noting that the electoral patterns in Alaska had been traditionally Democratic, took a partisan stance and opposed statehood on the grounds that an imbalance of party alignments would occur when the new state sent its two senators and one representative to Washington. The latter reasoning dissipated, somewhat, when the Alaska bill was tied to that of Hawaii, a Territory that had traditionally voted Republican. A massive national campaign was launched to counter opposition and to gather support from a cross-section of respected and politically powerful institutions and organizations. Soon, endorsements were received from such groups as the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the National Grange, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Congress of Home Missions, the Kiwanis and Lions International, the National Association of Attorneys General, and the National Governor's Conference.[8]

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[6] Louis F. Jacquot, "Alaska and the Jones Act: A Struggle for Equality" (Bellingham, Wash.: unpublished paper presented to the Dept. of History, Western Washington State College, 1966), p. 8.

[7] Gruening, The State of Alaska, p. 464.

A constitutional convention was called in 1955 by the Territorial Legislature, and the delegates met in November of that year to frame a constitution for the proposed state. The keynote address, "Let Us End American Colonialism,"[9] was delivered by Ernest Gruening, a former Territorial governor and staunch advocate of statehood. In the address,

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[8] Gruening, The State of Alaska, p. 473.

[9] Ibid., p. 498.

Gruening pointed out that the treatment of Alaska at the hands of the federal government was no less paternalistic and arbitrary than that of the British toward the American colonies prior to 1776. It was a theme that inspired many of the people at home and became a point of contention when presented before later Congressional hearing panels. For example, at statehood hearings in 1957, a list of specific grievances that smacked of colonialism was presented as follows:[10]

--Absenteeism: Both of the federal government, through its agencies, and private business corporations, particularly those in the extractive industries, made decisions that affected Alaskans even though they were thousands of miles from the scene.

--Transportation: Alaska was forbidden to use cheap, foreign marine transport by a discriminatory clause in the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 (41 Stat. 999), the "Jones Act," which excluded the Territory from the benefits of provisions that allowed foreign carriers access to the states.

--Taxation: Although excluded from a number of federal programs (e.g., the Federal Highway Act), Alaskans were taxed in the same manner as other Americans.

--The land: After 90 years under the flag, less than one percent of Alaska had been released from the public domain and turned over to private ownership.

--Fisheries: While the federal government maintained control of fish and wildlife management in Alaska, the salmon pack faced a continual decline over a twenty year period. Witnesses at the statehood hearings claimed that this "man-made disaster" would be alleviated only when local control over the resource was established.

--Justice: The four federal district judges holding court in Alaska were overburdened with cases, yet the Territory was forbidden to set up its own court system to alleviate the problem.

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[10] Alaska Statehood Hearings, 1957, pp. 303-324.

--The franchise and home rule: Because Alaskans were denied the privileges of voting in presidential elections and of sending representatives to Congress, they remained voiceless and powerless and their destinies were thus controlled by others. Home rule, it was maintained, was the traditional American response to local problems because those who lived among the problems were the best judges as to their solutions.

In each case, it was held that such grievances were typical of a colonial apparatus and only when those fetters over the people were shattered, as happened with the thirteen colonies following 1776, would the people of the new State of Alaska develop their land and society to a maximum of potentiality. A scheme known as the "Alaska-Tennessee Plan"[11] was adopted by the constitutional convention and two "senators-elect" and one "representative-elect" were sent to Washington in 1957 to lobby for statehood. Those men happened to be the most popular and powerful political figures in Alaska at that time and were well versed in the American legislative process. They, and others, presented convincing arguments to the various Congressional committees concerned as well as to individual Congressmen and Senators and, having tied Alaska statehood to that of Hawaii, were pleased to see a bill enacted into law in 1958.

The Alaska Statehood Act (72 Stat. 339) was signed into law on January 3, 1959.[12] Its major provisions, aside from those usual to the autonomy enjoyed by the other states, called for the striking of the discriminating clause in the Merchant Marine Act of 1920, a grant of 102,950,000 acres to the State,[13] a grant of some $27.5 million[14] in transitional aid over a five-year period, and full access to the various federal programs, e.g., the Highway Act, available to the other states but previously denied to Alaska. The victory was complete and the people of the young state savored their new-found freedom and their much sought after status as equal members of the Union.

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[11] The plan was inspired by the action of Tennessee in 1796 when those people drafted a constitution and sent two "senators" to Philadelphia where they lobbied successfully for statehood.

[12] Gruening, The State of Alaska, p. 504.

The one cloud on the horizon, little noticed at the time, was that of the agitation among the Native peoples concerning what they felt to be new threats to their use of the land. It is significant that the movement for statehood, sometimes passionately espoused across the Territory, largely by-passed the Natives and their leaders. One looks in vain for testimonial input from that segment of Alaska's population. Within the hundreds of pages of testimony taken at numerous hearings throughout the 1950's, there is only mention in passing of the Native people's position, vis-a-vis statehood, and such statements are more or less of a paternalistic nature. For example, one witness, while testifying as to the worthiness of white Alaskans and their ability to maintain a state, commented that the Alaskan pioneer had "conquered our last wilderness, and they did it, uniquely in Alaska, without displacing, slaughtering, or oppressing the aboriginal inhabitants, a friendly people, who have gone far to adopt the ways of our modern society, and contributed usefully to it."[15]

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[13] Ibid., p. 503.

[14] Ibid., p. 509.

But the fact that the Natives were not directly involved in the statehood movement nor consulted as to the provisions of a statehood act, particularly concerning those sections dealing with the land, would have implications in the next decade as far-reaching as that of the statehood fight of the 1950's. For if, at the time of statehood, a general land settlement had been included in the omnibus act, the second step of the decolonization process would not have been made. A final settlement in 1958 would have been advantageous both to the federal government and the new state, but it would have been a disaster for the Native people. There is no doubt from the documentary evidence, as will be presented below, that if a land settlement had been enacted in 1958 the provisions would have been a pittance as compared to the award finally negotiated in 1971. Furthermore, and to this writer a much more crucial factor, such a settlement in 1958 would have been along the lines of a decree or "ukase" handed down from on high and, as such, would have been somewhat meaningless to the people. For, just as the concept of statehood grew in importance because it involved the energies and thinking of a substantial number of people, the land claims settlement would take on meaning and become a factor in the development of the Native people only when they had become totally immersed in its desirability and construction. Without the involvement of the people in a movement that became as passionate to them as the statehood movement had been for its adherents in the previous decade, the Native leadership that developed during the land claims movement would not have had the support and incentive to continue that struggle. Too, they would not have received the exposure to or training in the legislative process which they were to apply later in the regional groupings that emerged, and within Alaskan political circles generally. And the people themselves would not have understood the ramifications of the settlement without exposure and participation in its development.

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[15] Alaska Statehood Hearings, 1957, p. 323.

The question of the control of the land in Alaska, an issue that was long-smoldering and was one of the great divisive forces within the general society of Natives and non-Natives alike, was finally to be settled following a decade of struggle during the 1960's. That struggle was, however, rooted in the history of the Natives that predated the coming of the white man.

The Land Claims Issue

A review of the land rights of the Alaska Native peoples requires one to reflect back to pre-contact times (1740), as was briefly sketched in Chapter II of this study. The various ethnic groups of aboriginal peoples had definite geographic spheres in which they had been settled for thousands of years, and which they maintained to the exclusion of all others. There were instances of expansion by one group at the expense of others--for example, the movement into the Prince William Sound area by the Yakutat Tlingits and the occupation of the southern portion of Prince of Wales Island by the Haidas--but these incursions were either violently resisted, as with the Tlingits, or mutually agreed to, as with the Haidas. Contrary to popular belief in some quarters, the displacement of peoples by wars, invasions and counter-invasions, on a scale even remotely associated with Euro-Mediterranean history, was not a factor in Alaska Native history. Nowhere in the history of the peoples, as described in their legends, does one find an Iliad, an Alexander, or a William the Conqueror. Rather, when fighting did take place it was for specific, short range, and usually materialistic reasons: the maintenance of trade routes or hunting and fishing sites, the collection of slaves or goods, revenge for a past wrong or slight. When supposed displacement did take place, as among the Eskimos and Athabascans along the lower Yukon and Kuskokwim or the Tlingit and Athabascans around Lake Dezadeash and the Takhini River, the process was actually assimilative. The people on the land in question were not driven out, but were changed, over the generations, by the adoption of cultural traits, such as language and economic patterns, that were brought in by the new neighbors. Indeed, the process was more of a cultural exchange in that the incursive people took on many of the traits of the indigenous people and added them to their own cultural repertoire.[16] But while the cultural motifs of the people were modified by such contacts, the land upon which those people dwelt remained in their hands.

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[16] For example, the Chilkat and Chilkoot Tlingits, who were in constant contact with the inland Tlingits, readily adopted Athabascan songs, dances, clothing designs and manufacturing techniques. Other Tlingits down the coast were similarly involved in the inter-cultural process with their neighbors both inland and to the south.

The Russian period of Alaska history did little to modify the land use patterns of the Native peoples except in those instances where they were able to establish and maintain their own small communities, such as at Kodiak and Sitka. Further attempts by them to establish colonies on Native lands were violently resisted, as at Yakutat, and they were content, following the Imperial charters after 1799, to leave the Natives alone so long as they maintained a commercial hegemony over the Territory.[17]

While the so-called Treaty of Purchase of 1867, between Russia and the United States, barely mentioned the Native peoples it did provide that such people would be "subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may from time to time adopt. . . ."[18] This clause, Article III of the Treaty of 1867, was to cause a great amount of discussion during the land claims hearings of the 1960's because it was held, on the one hand, that the United States had no obligation to the Native peoples other than those to other citizens and, on the other hand, that the United States was empowered and obligated to settle aboriginal title at some future date.

The Organic Act of 1884 (23 Stat. 24), which established a civil government in Alaska, provided that

> . . . the Indians or other persons in said district shall not

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[17] University of Alaska, Native Land Claims, (Fairbanks: ISEGR, vol. IV, No. 6, November, 1967), pp. 5-13.

[18] Ibid., p. 13.

> be disturbed in the possession of lands actually in their use or occupation or now claimed by them but the terms under which such persons may acquire title to such lands is reserved for future legislation by Congress.[19]

All legislation, from that date forward, passed by Congress concerning lands or resources in Alaska contained similar clauses (e.g., the Act of March, 1891 [26 Stat. 1095], concerning timber; the Act of May, 1898 [30 Stat. 409], on homestead laws; the Act of June, 1900 [31 Stat. 321], regarding civil government).[20] Furthermore, the courts consistently upheld such legislation[21] so that as the years went by a substantial legal basis for Native rights concerning their "use and occupancy" of the land was constructed. As time passed, however, Congress continued to put off for a later date the "future legislation" that would settle the land question, not only for the Natives, but also for the non-Natives in Alaska.

In 1912, the same year that Congress passed the Second Organic Act (37 Stat. 512), which provided Alaska with full Territorial status, a portion of the Alaska Native peoples organized into a fraternal relationship. The Alaska Native Brotherhood, almost wholly composed of Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian people from Southeast Alaska, was to be a seed and a model of sorts for future Native organizations when the land claims issue reached a crucial stage following the Statehood Act of 1958. At first fraternal in nature and dedicated to the assimilation of themselves into the white cultural environment, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, over the years, evolved into a political force as the Native people gained citizenship status and the franchise but continued to face overt discriminatory practices at the hands of whites. In addition, the organization began, after 1935, to probe into land and property conflicts that it felt the people were justified in pursuing against the federal and Territorial governments.[22] While the Alaska Native Brotherhood purported to speak for all of the Native peoples, and attempted to recruit members of other ethnic groups throughout Alaska, it remained largely centered in Southeastern and dominated by the Tlingits. The reasons, of course, were varied, but perhaps the major concern of the other Native peoples was that of the close relationship of the rituals and structure of the Alaska Native Brotherhood to Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian cultural patterns. The organization was not only centered in Southeastern Alaska, and therefore concerned with problems peculiar to that region, but were culturally alien to the other Native peoples and was rejected.

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[19] Richard C. Jones, Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act: History and Analysis, 1972, p. 19.

[20] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[21] Ibid., p. 20 (see United States v. Berrigan [2 Alaska Reports 448] [1905]; United States v. Cadzow [5 Alaska Reports 131] [1914]; United States v. Lynch [7 Alaska Reports 573] [1927]).

Philip Drucker[23] described the rituals and parliamentary maneuverings within the Alaska Native Brotherhood at its conventions and detected a definite similarity to the traditional patterns of Northwest Coast culture. For example, the alliances that were generated for the election of officers were peculiarly along clan and lineage lines, although they were carefully clothed in Anglo-American forms. Patterns of parliamentary debate, the system of internal fines and reprimands, and the rituals of recognition and reward were all modeled after potlatch procedures and were explained in those terms by the participants when pressed. Tlingit villages, particularly, enthusiastically took part in the organization's proceedings and trained their young in the arts of public speaking and debate that became so much a feature of Alaska Native Brotherhood meetings. In addition, many parts of the proceedings were conducted in the Tlingit language and other subtle expressions, such as eye and hand movements or ethnic humor, were Tlingit-oriented. Non-Tlingits could not help but feel like outsiders at such functions.

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[22] Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act: History and Analysis, p. 29 (following an Act [49 Stat. 388] that authorized such suits in the Court of Claims).

[23] Philip Drucker, The Native Brotherhoods, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1958).

Nevertheless, the Alaska Native Brotherhood was successful in pressing for civil and electoral rights at a time when there was no other organization in Alaska to speak for the Natives. And it pioneered the field of aboriginal land claims by initiating the first court cases in Alaska concerning the concept, and of receiving legislative recognition of such rights.

Following 1935, the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Southeast Alaska began a series of court cases and lobbying efforts in an attempt to regain the lands taken from them since 1867 or to receive reparations for such takings. Attorneys were hired and delegates were sent to

Washington to plead their case before the courts, the Congress, and the American public. As in the more widespread land claims movement of the 1960's, a kind of spiritual renaissance enveloped the people as they banded together in common cause, debated the issues and strategies at meetings and raised funds for the pursuit of their goal. The movement became a great training ground in practical politics and public exposure not only for the leaders, but also for the people themselves, and was to reflect in miniature the later general movement in that respect.

After some twenty-four years of hard work and pressure, the Tlingit and Haida people gained the satisfaction of a favorable court decision in 1959.[24] The U.S. Court of Claims found that the Tlingit and Haidas had indeed used and occupied the land which they claimed and that the United States had taken such land. The Court further held that the Treaty of 1867 had not extinguished aboriginal title and that the people were entitled to compensation. The amount of payment for the takings, however, required a separate court case and that decision was handed down in 1968,[25] nearly ten years later. The Court determination was something of a shock to the people for it set the payment at $7,500,000, whereas they had expected compensation in the neighborhood of $35,000,000. A painful decision was made by the Tlingit and Haida leadership to accept the lower figure and to not appeal the case further. That decision has proved to be one of great controversy and has embittered the relationship between the various Tlingit and Haida factions ever since.[26]

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[24] Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act: History and Analysis, p. 30, (177 F. Supp. 452).

[25] Ibid.

In other regions of Alaska, the aftermath of the Statehood Act of 1958 had a disquieting effect on the Native peoples. As the provisions of the Act became familiar to the people and their leaders through discussion and inquiry, it soon became clear that the construction of a dynamic state, as was spelled out in the Statehood Act and set in motion by the State Constitution, had the potential of disturbing the life patterns of the aboriginal people even in the remotest corners of the "bush." This soon proved to be the case as the State began selecting parcels of the 103,000,000 acres allotted to it under the statehood provisions. People who had lived all their lives in areas handed down to them by their ancestors, and who had taken for granted the stability of such tenure, were suddenly confronted with the specter of displacement and expulsion. Title to village, burial, hunting and fishing sites had traditionally been recognized intra-ethnically and had been used as a matter of course and as needed. Following 1958, restrictions on the use of the land grew more widespread as the State, aside from selections, enforced its hunting and conservation laws and the federal government expanded its park and wildlife system. Additionally, as selections continued and as leases were let for developmental purposes. mining and oil companies began to operate in previously "virgin" areas, further restricting the people's activities. The land, so unchanging and secure over the millenia, appeared to be threatened from all sides.

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[26] It should help, perhaps, to point out here that the Tsimshians were excluded from this case, and the 1971 Act as well, because of their reservation status and because they were satisfied with the status quo.

The land, to the aboriginal peoples of Alaska, had a quality about it that is perhaps difficult for European-oriented peoples to understand. It is not of a mystical nature, as some romantic non-Natives proclaim, but is rather a solid, enduring, familiar and friendly part of the people's very existence. It is the land that produces all of the essentials of life: shelter, heat, clothing, food. It is popularly believed that when all else fails, one can always survive off the land, "back home." (Thus, city-life is essentially ephemeral and fleeting and is not to be taken too seriously.) The land not only produces material goods, but is also the very fount of the non-material components of the people's culture. The animals, the hills, the streams, lakes, bays and inlets from which the legends of the people spring, and which define the people as such, all connote the phrase "the land." Europeans of peasant background, historically landless until relatively recent times, many of whom migrated to the New World because they were landless, sometimes do not have the same understanding as the Alaska aborigines have of the phrase "the land." Native ancestors had lived relatively undisturbed on that land for twenty or thirty thousand years (see Chapter II). The history of massive, white permanent settlement on the land in Alaska began only after 1939 (see Table 3), and the great majority of non-Native Alaskans, with the possible exception of those from Southeastern and a few other places like Nome and Fairbanks, were newcomers whose attachments and perceptions remained with their home states or countries. The Alaska Native peoples did not have other places to call "home." They remained thoroughly rooted in their Alaska homelands and at times they could scarcely convey those feelings to the general public, the government of the State, or to the Congressional hearing committees. And when they did, energetically and vociferously, they were often surprised at the negative reaction encountered from those to whom they were speaking. (The Congressional hearings into the land question are replete with such instances, and those will be noted in the discussion below.) The Native people's "felt need" for the land and the threats to it that they saw building up all around them after 1958 caused the Native people of Alaska to band together in a confederation for the first time in their history.

The effective clause of the 1958 Statehood Act that was to serve as protection for Native and other federal lands was strongly worded. It explicitly spelled out prohibitions against alienation and provided for the future settlement of such land rights by the Congress. That section is reprinted here in its entirety, and is worded as follows:

> Sec. 4. As a compact with the United States said State and its people do agree and declare that they forever disclaim all right and title to any lands or other property not granted or confirmed to the State or its political subdivisions or under the authority of this Act, the right or title to which is held by the United States or is subject to disposition by the United States, and to any lands or other property (including fishing rights), the right or title to which may be held by any Indians, Eskimos, or Aleuts (hereinafter called natives) or is held by the United States in trust for said natives; that all such lands or other property, belonging to the United States or which may belong to said natives, shall be and remain under the absolute jurisdiction and control of the United States until disposed of under its authority, except to such extent as the Congress has prescribed or may hereafter prescribe, and except when held by individual natives in fee without restrictions on

> alienation: Provided, That nothing contained in this Act shall recognize, deny, enlarge, impair, or otherwise affect any claim against the United States, and any such claim shall be governed by the laws of the United States applicable thereto; and nothing in this Act is intended or shall be construed as a finding, interpretation, or construction by the Congress that any law applicable thereto authorizes, establishes, recognizes, or confirms the validity or invalidity of any such claim, and the determination of the applicability or effect of any law to any such claim shall be unaffected by anything in this Act: And provided further, That no taxes shall be imposed by said State upon any lands or other property now owned or hereafter acquired by the United States or which, as hereinabove set forth, may belong to said natives, except to such extent as the Congress has prescribed or may hereafter prescribe, and except when held by individual natives in fee without restrictions on alienation.[27]

Almost a year following the passage of the above Act, Congress passed an "Alaska Omnibus Act" which amended and clarified certain sections of the Act of 1958. Section 4 was modified in the following manner:

> Section 2. (a) Section 4 of the Act of July 7, 1958 (72 Stat. 339), providing for the admission of the State of Alaska into the Union, is amended by striking out the words "all such lands or other property, belonging to the United States or which may belong to said natives", and inserting in lieu thereof the words "all such lands or other property (including fishing rights), the right or title to which may be held by said natives or is held by the United States in trust for said natives".[28]

Although the first provision was primarily meant as a caveat to the State concerning its land selections, and was in fact heavily larded with disclaimers concerning the actual rights of the Natives to the land, it was read by the Native leadership as an open admission to the possible legality of such rights. This feeling was reinforced by the

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[27] Public Law 85-508, July 7, 1958 (72 Stat. 339).

[28] Public Law 86-70, June 25, 1959 (73 Stat. 141).

1959 amendment which seemed to say that there was a strong possibility that Congress was at long last ready to recognize Native title to the land.

Meanwhile, as the State government reorganized under its new constitution, thus setting up the machinery to conduct its business efficiently, it began to accelerate its selections of the 103,000,000 acres allotted to it under the 1958 Act. The Native peoples most directly affected by the post-statehood developments were those in the Southwest, the Northwest, the North Slope, and the Interior, where the great bulk of public domain lands remained relatively untouched over the years.

In 1961 the Inupiat Paitot was created by the Eskimos of the North Slope and the Interior Athabascans followed suit in 1962 by organizing the Tanana Chiefs' Conference.[29] As State selections spread throughout the north country, Alaska Native associations sprang up to file legal protests until there were twenty-one such organizations by 1968.[30] By April of that year there were forty recorded protests and claims by Native groups covering some 296,600,000 acres, approximately eighty percent of the State.[31] A pan-Native newspaper, The Tundra Times, was launched and its Eskimo editor provided a channel through which the people were informed of land claims developments and their leaders received encouragement in the continuing struggle. The Alaska Federation of Natives, a statewide affiliation of all Native associations and individuals interested in the land issue, was organized in 1966[32] and promptly consolidated and coordinated the various divisions that had been developing in the Native regions concerning tactics and strategy.

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[29] Leon C. Daugherty, "The Political Power Struggle in the Alaska Native Land Claims" (unpublished Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1970), p. 36.

[30] Alaska Natives and the Land, p. 27.

[31] Ibid., p. 440. (It was estimated at the time that Alaska contained about 375 million acres.)

The creation of the Alaska Federation of Natives[33] was possibly the most outstanding feature of the whole land claims campaign, aside from the culminating Act itself, for it was the first time in their history that all of the Native peoples were brought together in a confederated body to pursue a common goal. Top attorneys, both from within the State and outside it, were hired; speakers bureaus and political action committees were formed to publicize the movement; and a communication network to the villages and regions was organized. Money was raised by all manner of endeavor, but was chiefly supplied through contracted loans from other Native and American Indian organizations and certain Alaskan banking institutions.

Delegates from the village and regional organizations assembled periodically to formulate policy and to validate tactical procedures and contracts engaged in by the Federation's executive committee. Such conventions were at first painfully disjointed as the delegates, who represented all ethnic native groups and stages of parliamentary sophistication, probed each other for an understanding of the differences and similarities that existed between them. For example, certain expressions, voice intonations, accents, and body movements peculiar to the various regions and their inhabitants, sometimes generated *faux pas* or insulting impressions where none had been intended. In other instances, it became clear that land, riparian and maritime use concepts were quite different between the ethnic groups and required considerable explanation before meaningful compromises could be effected. While the wide range of educational differences between the delegates and leaders, from no formal education to a few holding master's degrees, could be expected to present serious difficulties, such was not the case. It appeared that such differences were not culturally important and were therefore largely ignored. Of a more serious nature, and one that continued to present difficulties throughout the active life of the movement, was that of the delegates' exposure to parliamentary maneuvering, forms and debate. Those who had extended practice in such procedures tended, often unwittingly, to trigger resentment on the part of the other, less sophisticated delegates by the exercise of their knowledge. But the overriding issue of the land was so central to the concerns of most delegates that such problems were surmounted, or at least allowed to remain dormant, and a united front was maintained before a sometimes hostile general society. (As will be explained below, certain other Native misunderstandings were to remain only partially hidden, and would eventually lead to the demise of the Alaska Federation of Natives as an active political force once the goal of a settlement act was reached.) The conventions and the innumerable committee meetings, both within the Federation and at the regional level, served as a great training ground for large numbers of Native men and women, many of whom later became regional and statewide political and business leaders.

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[32] Ibid., p. 27.

[33] There is some argument in Alaska as to "who initiated" the land claims movement and the Alaska Federation of Natives. This writer, who attended high school in Southeast Alaska, clearly remembers discussing such concepts with fellow Native students at least as early as 1950. Those who were involved in the early stages of the movement and the development of the Federation would certainly agree that a large factor in the genesis of both would be the close association of potential leaders that existed in the dormitories of Mt. Edgecumbe School at Sitka in the early 1950's.

In September, 1966, the Bureau of Land Management of the U.S. Department of the Interior opened up large blocks of the North Slope to oil and gas leasing procedures. Immediate protests were filed by the Native organizations in the region, and the Secretary of the Interior announced, in November, that all such leases would be held in abeyance pending further investigation of the protests.[34] During August, 1967, the Secretary issued further instructions concerning Alaska Public domain lands and these, in effect, suspended all activity in federal land transactions within Alaska until the protests were resolved.[35] This action by the federal authorities came to be known as the "land freeze" and was deeply resented throughout much of the white Alaskan community. In spite of a civil suit in Federal District Court by the State, in an attempt to overturn the Secretary's orders, the "land freeze" remained effective until the final settlement in 1971.

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[34] Alaska Natives and the Land, p. 440.

[35] Ibid., p. 440.

Shortly following the announcement of the "land freeze," the governor of the State convened a "Land Claims Task Force," composed of Native representatives, State officials and experts from the Secretary of the Interior's office. The Task Force presented its proposals in January, 1968,[36] and these were spelled out in legislative language and presented to Congress for consideration. The State Legislature, in the spring of 1968, presented its own version of land claims legislation to Congress in which they offered to pay a five percent royalty from state lands to a Native fund if the Congress acted favorably with legislation prior to October, 1968.[37] Neither house of Congress moved on the issue and both proposals lapsed during that session.

Prior to 1968, the Alaska Federation of Natives had toyed with the idea of requesting legislation that would permit them to receive a settlement through the U.S. Court of Claims, as the Tlingits and Haidas had previously. Following the sessions of the Governor's Task Force, however, and after consulting with their attorneys, the leaders of the Federation decided to present their own version of a "just and equitable" settlement bill. From 1968 to the final passage of the Act of 1971, a number of bills were presented for the consideration of Congress by all major factions involved in the issue: the State, the Alaska Federation of Natives, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the two houses of Congress.

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[36] Daugherty, "Political Power Struggle, p. 44.

[37] _Ibid._, p. 45.

Congressional hearings were conducted into all aspects of such legislation beginning in 1968[38] and continued from year to year until 1971.

Briefly, major disagreements between the parties concerned centered on (1) the amount of land that the Natives would retain, (2) the amount of money that should be awarded for the extinguishment of present claims, (3) whether or not the State of Alaska should be a participant in the settlement and (4) the amount and duration of a royalty payment from minerals extracted from State or federal lands. The State at first rejected all suggestions of participation, claiming that it was a federal problem alone, but toward the end reversed this stand and agreed to contribute to the final settlement. The federal government, through the U.S. Department of the Interior, changed its position several times, but consistently proposed extremely low monetary and land awards which were just as consistently rejected by the Natives. The Alaska Federation of Natives at first requested a relatively low monetary settlement and 40,000,000 acres of land, but soon increased its demands to $500,000,000 as a quit-claim award; 60,000,000 acres of land; and a two percent overriding royalty, in perpetuity, on all minerals wrested from the State and federal lands.[39] Congressional committee bills were generally similar to those from the Department of the Interior, except that the Committee members gradually stiffened their demands for State participation until the State finally acquiesced. The final draft of the Alaska Native Land Claims Act (85 Stat 688),[40] in the tradition of American legislation, was a compromise of all of the positions described above. Its major provisions included the following money and land awards:

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[38] Daugherty, "Political Power Struggle," p. 48.

[39] Land Claims Hearings, 1971, pp. 181-185.

--$462,500,000 from the U.S. Treasury to be paid in installments over an eleven-year period (Sec. 6).

--$500,000,000 from the State through a 2% royalty on the "gross value" of minerals (Sec. 9).

--40,000,000 acres to be selected and held by village and regional corporations (Sec. 12).

Other sections provided for (1) the incorporation of twelve regional Native associations (with a thirteenth for non-resident Natives, if they so elect), (2) a definition of eligibility, (3) the revocation of reservations and reserves (except that of the Tsimshians on Annette Island), (4) the establishment of a "Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska," and (5) the payment of attorney and consultant fees through the Chief Commissioner of the U.S. Court of Claims.

The proclamation and the signing of the Act by the President, which were transmitted by radio-phone to a convention of the Alaska Federation of Natives assembled at Alaska Methodist University at Anchorage, received a standing ovation and cheers reminiscent of the receipt of the statehood news thirteen years previously. A sign of relief mixed with the joy of winning a ten-year legislative fight caused men and women to shake hands and buss each other. But underlying the overt unity of the moment, and scarcely detected in the first speeches of confirmation by the regional leaders, a rift of serious proportions had developed among the statewide Native leadership and was presently to become manifest. The Alaska Federation of Natives, at the moment of victory, faced a schism of the deepest kind.

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[40] Public Law 92-203, December 18, 1971.

That the Alaska Federation of Natives, an organization that first united all of the Native peoples together in one body and then guided them for five years in a movement that successfully reached its legislative goal, should split asunder at the very moment of its greatest triumph must certainly be viewed as one of the greatest paradoxes faced in the long history of those people. At a time that called for statesmanship of the highest order, such was almost totally lacking among the Native leadership of that day. While the long legislative skirmishes may have required political leadership that was tough, stubborn, and somewhat cynical, and, indeed, the art of political confrontation was extremely popular all across the nation in the latter 1960's, when the moment of victory arrived, such men did not have the intellectual training and discipline to build the machinery of long-range planning and close association that was then required. The traditional philosophers and intellectuals of the village and regional people were set aside during the long, drawn out political fight for the settlement. The leadership that had evolved and was in power by 1971 was, by and large, made up of young, vigorous and aggressive men who had gained a taste for power through their associations with attorneys of stature and high government officials both within the State and in Washington, D.C. The older men of the villages, those who traditionally contributed a steadying influence in the people's affairs, were not consulted and were almost totally ignored in the end. The young were similar to the classical nouveaux riches who were willing to spend their resources for short-term rewards rather than wait and work toward the more visionary concepts that the Act potentially called for. One old-time observer commented that they were like "king salmon in the spring," alluding to the first great salmon runs of the season when the fish speckle the bays with their vigorous leaps and great splashes.

Within an hour following the President's proclamation, the rift between the delegates was visible to all and the first post-settlement walk-out occurred. During the year following the passage of the Settlement Act, the stature of the Federation continued to be eroded as the leaders devoted their energies toward internal political ends instead of to an implementation of the Act's provisions. By October, 1972, the old Federation was completely broken up, revamped, and reconstituted, thus creating a great amount of internal bitterness. One immediate result of this collapse of a Native united front was the defeat of a highly respected and capable Native leader when he ran for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives during a special election held in March, 1973. While an important factor in the defeat was a white "backlash," against Native politicians, particularly in Southeast Alaska[41] nevertheless, a united effort for political purposes was not organized.

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[41] This statement is supported by an analysis of the election returns and confirmation through discussions with various people at Juneau during a trip by this writer to Alaska in the spring of 1973.

And yet in May, 1973, while the regions remain strong, a coordinated effort on a state-wide basis for the improvement of the Native people's social, educational and economic welfare appears to be only a part of past history.

Aside from the above reasons for the collapse of the Alaska Federation of Natives, there were, of course others. First, the history of individualism and ethnic independence of the various groups of Alaska Natives points out that a confederacy of such people is, in fact, an abnormality. They have never been united historically, not even within their regional or ethnic spheres. The cultural diversity of the peoples, from one end of the State to the other, had consistently plagued government agencies that attempted to treat them as a unitary element and was to prove to be no less a problem for the people themselves. The transcripts of the land claims hearings are replete with such echoes. During the final hearings conducted in Washington, D.C., one witness from the North Slope, in an effort to include clauses in the final act that would insure ethnic autonomy, stated that they didn't "want to be bossed by some bureau or by some other ethnic group whether Athabascans or Caucasians or whatever."[42] He further summarized his feelings by describing his formal schooling and Army service as deculturalizing experiences: "Now, it took me 17 years to find my identity. I found out that I was not a Tlingit, I found out I was not an Athabascan, but I was an Inupiat Eskimo, and I knew who my people were."[43]

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[42] Land Claims Hearings, 1971, p. 298.

Secondly, the provisions of the bills concerning the land question, including that of the final Act, created a continual controversy between the various ethnic groups. The Tlingits of the Southeast and the Aleuts of the Southwest, both sea-oriented peoples, were more ready to compromise on the land question than those from the north. In nearly all of the proposed bills, the Interior Athabascans appeared to be in a position of controlling adequate acreage and they, too, were prone to press more vigorously for money than for land. The North Slope Eskimos, particularly following the $900,000,000 Prudhoe Bay oil-lease sale in 1969,[44] took an increasingly stiff stand on the land issue by pressing for 80,000,000 or more acres even if that resulted in a smaller monetary award. Those positions solidified as 1971 approached and contributed to the organizational schism when the Settlement Act spelled out the 40,000,000 acre figure.

Finally, elements of the non-Native Alaskan community contributed to the weakening of the Alaska Federation of Natives' prestige by belittling the organization's efforts and casting doubt on the motives of the leadership. Powerful and highly respected leaders within the State government and from the extractive industries (such as mining and logging), continued to object vigorously to the Federation's suggestions almost to the final writing of the Act. (Such resistance is documented in the hearing transcripts and constitutes a considerable proportion of those records.) At one point in the hearings the attacks against the Federation became so blatant, indeed, that a Congressional Committee member was moved to read into the record his objections.[45] Many of the urban Natives were susceptible to the suggestions of such anti-settlement individuals and were often quick to place blame prior to an objective analysis.[46]

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[43] Ibid., p. 311.

[44] Land Claims Hearings, 1971, p. 311. (This sale took place in the Eskimos "backyard" when the State put up previously selected oil lands for public auction.)

Still, the major goals of the Native community that they had worked for through the 1960's were attained by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. They received an authorization to select 40,000,000 acres of land for their own use; they received ethnic identity through the establishment of twelve regional corporations; and they received close to one billion dollars as a quit claim fee for the balance of the lands taken from them. And, though not a part of the Act but certainly implied by it, they were reassured of their importance and power within the general community in that they had achieved a recognition of their rights by their own intellect and energy. They would never go back to what they were before; they had changed irrevocably.

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[45] Land Claims Hearings, 1969, pp. 645-646. (Rep. Ed Edmondson, D.Okla., castigated the largest and most powerful newspaper in Alaska for distorting the facts in an editorial entitled "The Goldberg Bill" [referring to former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg who had been retained to present an Alaska Federation of Natives bill to Congress.])

[46] The process of defaming leaders once elected into office is so widespread among certain Native groups that it is recognized as a sort of malignancy. It is called "shooting arrows" and anyone who takes such a position is considered to be fair game for vilification and rumor-mongering by his constituents. The form described here is much more vicious and serious than that found in non-Native political encounters.

With the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the final stage of self-determination was reached. The general society of Alaska received their autonomy through the Statehood Act in 1958, and the Native society received theirs in 1971. Both would, in the future, be on a more equal footing with each other and, together, with others across the nation.

The most glaring cloud on the Native horizon concerning equality, however, was that of education in general and higher education in particular. For despite the provisions of the Settlement Act, complete equality with the general society would not be reached while that society could boast that better than twelve percent of its members had obtained a college education whereas the Native community could barely produce one percent of such members. In the past, Native intellectuals, philosophers, and professionals had been trained within a traditional cultural context. Following the arrival of large numbers of white people and the changes in social and economic patterns, such training techniques as were previously employed became obsolete. Culturally and socially unequipped to provide the intellectual training through formal education that the new realities required, the Native peoples for a time foundered. That type of training was available through the public school system and the colleges and universities in Alaska, and the Native peoples had to look to that section of society to determine if it could fulfill their needs or if any changes were necessary.

CHAPTER V

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF ALASKA NATIVES

Higher education in Alaska, as of 1972, was dominated by a statewide, unitary, constitutionally defined public system. Except for two small, private institutions--Alaska Methodist University at Anchorage and Sheldon Jackson College at Sitka--the University of Alaska maintained a hegemony in the field of higher education within the State enjoyed by few other public systems in the nation. Competition or infringements upon its prerogatives, except for certain internal dissensions concerning the branches, and which will be described later, did not present to the University of Alaska's system the problems that are so often the case in other states. Furthermore, the University of Alaska had passed through a period of unprecedented growth during the 1950's and 1960's, and enjoyed wide public support, both from the people and their legislators. Following is a background sketch of the system of higher education in Alaska, both public and private, to which the remaining portions of this chapter will be keyed.

Public Higher Education in Alaska

The University of Alaska

Following the great stampedes for gold in the Territory of Alaska from 1898 to the turn of the century, many of the thousands of immigrants who had journeyed north in search of gold returned to their homes in the "States" in disappointment. Others, however, found the new land to their liking for a variety of reasons and decided to settle there. They had carried with them a full spectrum of American cultural ideals, one of which was that of building a public educational system for the benefit of their progeny. Once they had developed the outlines of an elementary and secondary school system, as was described in Chapter III, they began to discuss the means of providing some form of higher education. As a result of the second Organic Act of 1912, Alaska was permitted to send a non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives in Washington. Although he could not vote, he could submit bills, and Delegate James Wickersham soon presented one concerning a land grant college for Alaska.

Congress approved, on March 4, 1915, an Act (38 Stat. 1214) granting certain public lands in the Fairbanks area to the Territory for the purpose of establishing an "agricultural college and school of mines." Based on that grant, the Territorial Legislature passed an Act (62 SLA 1917) on May 13, 1917, establishing the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines at Fairbanks as a corporation with a board of trustees, and appropriated $60,000 for its construction.[1] There was a great amount of controversy in the Legislature over the College's location, however, and the enabling legislation barely cleared the House by a single vote of nine to seven.[2] (At the time, Southeast Alaska contained the greater portion of the Territory's population, and it was felt by some that Juneau would be a more logical site because it would serve a majority of the people. Such an argument would be raised again in the future when the Anchorage area grew in population.) Further appropriations were withheld and it wasn't until 1921 that an additional $41,000 appropriation was made available to the infant college.[3]

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[1] University of Alaska, A Basis in Law, (Fairbanks: By the Author, 1970), pp. 6-9.

During that same year, the Board of Trustees appointed Charles E. Bunnell, a twenty-year pioneer of Alaska, former teacher and Federal District Court Judge, to the presidency of the College.[4] President Bunnell continued for twenty-eight years in that position, guiding the institution through its first, faltering steps until by 1949, the year of his retirement, the Legislative appropriations to the University of Alaska had reached more than $2,000,000.[5]

Congress granted an additional 100,000 acres to the College in 1929 (45 Stat. 1091). The College was accredited in 1934, and the Territorial Legislature changed the name of the institution to the University of Alaska in 1935, redesignating the Board of Trustees as a Board of Regents, and broadening the objectives of the University to include other than agricultural and engineering programs (49 SLA 1935).

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[2] William R. Cashen, A Brief History of the University of Alaska, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, 1971), p. 8.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

At that time there was a total enrollment of 150 and a faculty of eighteen.[6]

A review of the internal operations of the University of Alaska reveals that the institution was not able to open its doors until September, 1922, when it enrolled six students who were to be taught by six faculty members.[7] During each year from the opening date until 1926, the College managed to graduate one student, each of whom had been a recent transfer from an institution in the continental states. In 1926, the single graduate, with a Bachelor of Science degree in Mining Engineering, had received all of his training at the College and was further hailed as "the first white boy born in Fairbanks."[8] The commencement was conducted with full ritual and pomp and the faculty paraded in caps and gowns with their academic colors represented.[9] By 1932, the graduating class numbered fifteen.[10]

From the mid-1930's until the outbreak of war in the Pacific at the end of 1941, the University of Alaska continued to grow slowly but perceptibly. In 1942, the institution came very close to extinction as the result of a U.S. Army suggestion that the campus be turned over to them for training purposes.[11] A compromise was finally worked out whereby the University agreed to share the campus facilities with the Army and to continue its operations at a reduced level. During the height of the war, in the academic year 1943-44, a mere sixty-seven students remained, but that figure increased to 373 in 1946-47 and 409 by 1953.[12]

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[6] _Ibid._, p. 9.

[7] Mautz, "Higher Education in Alaska," p. 61.

[8] _Ibid._

[9] _Ibid._

[10] _Ibid._

[11] Cashen, _A Brief History of the University of Alaska_, pp. 9-10.

The enrollment figures represent a problem that has plagued the University from its inception. As the only Territorial, and later State, public higher institution of learning, the University of Alaska was expected to serve a majority of Alaska's youth who had completed their secondary training and were inclined to continue their education. This, the University consistently failed to do, and it is worth examining here.

Lester Henderson discussed the problem as early as 1930, and pointed out that "The Territory's single college is situated on almost the northern fringe of the white population and far removed from the center of the school population."[13] He proposed the establishment of a number of junior colleges, particularly in Southeast Alaska which contained, in 1928-29, "forty-eight percent of the Territorial school population and 61 percent of the high school population."[14] A similar study completed in 1933 by Angela Mautz pointed out that only twenty-five percent of Alaska high school graduates at that time attended the college at Fairbanks,[15] while the remainder moved south to institutions in the continental states. Walter Savikko noted that of the college-bound Alaska high school graduates of 1945-46, thirty-seven of seventy-seven (or 48.1%) had enrolled as freshmen at the University of Alaska.[16] From a survey of high school seniors in Alaska conducted in 1949, Savikko further found that only two percent indicated intentions of attending the University of Alaska while slightly more than forty-three percent planned to attend institutions outside of the Territory.[17] He concluded that the University's location at Fairbanks was a major deterrent to students attending college in the Territory and that junior colleges near the major metropolitan centers would alleviate the problem. (Later, the 1972 Starcher Report stated that "Alaska is sending almost half of its college youth outside the State for education, while only one-fourth of Alaska high school graduates enroll as new students in Alaskan institutions."[18] That statement followed the establishment of seven community colleges, beginning in 1954, that were located in all major centers of white population.)

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[12] Cashan, A Brief History of the University of Alaska, pp. 10-12.

[13] Lester D. Henderson, "Should Alaska Establish Junior Colleges?" (unpublished Master's thesis, Stanford University, 1930), p. 33.

[14] Ibid., p. 34.

Although Savikko and the others were correct, to a degree, in assuming that the location of the University at Fairbanks and the lack of facilities closer to their homes tended to cause students to attend colleges elsewhere, those were not the only factors, nor the chief ones. Certainly, the winter temperatures at Fairbanks, where it may plunge to forty or fifty degrees below zero, are not conducive to the recruitment of students. From the earliest days of the University, better than half of the students at any given time were non-resident transfer students from outside of the Territory or State; all of the above mentioned studies support this fact. Alaska's students, like those from other parts of the country, were mobile, adventurous and romantic enough to desire to study in other places, and did so whenever they could afford it. Alaska has had a traditionally transient population that shifts not only from place to place within its borders, but also to and from other parts of the nation. The white youth, especially, were easily indoctrinated by their parents in such matters and it has been a highly popular tradition to "head south" to school whenever the opportunity was present. Furthermore, the curriculum and the programs of the University were so constructed as to offer a quite narrow range of opportunities for young people who were not inclined to be mining or civil engineers. The 1935 Act that renamed the institution also spelled out the University's offerings within the following limits:

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[15] Mautz, "Higher Education in Alaska," p. 75.

[16] Walter A. Savikko, "An Analytical Study of the Secondary School Pupils of Alaska to Determine the Desirability of Developing Junior Colleges or Extended Secondary Schools in the Territory," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1950), p. 41.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[18] The Starcher Report, p. 42.

> Section 1. There is hereby established a University of Alaska which shall consist of the College of Agriculture, the School of Mines, the Department of Agricultural Experiment Station, the Department of Agricultural Extension Work, now a part of the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines, and such other colleges and departments either as are now existing in the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines or as may from time to time be

> established, including departments of anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, museum, natural history and palaeontology. (49 SLA 1935)

High school graduates from all parts of Alaska, even from as far away as Southeast Alaska, who had a bent for mining and civil engineering have eagerly enrolled at the University because of the school's reputation in those fields. And later, during the latter 1960's, when the University and its Anchorage branch presented excellent teacher-training and other innovative programs, the public responded positively. It appears that students will continue to shift from branch to branch within the system and to other institutions outside the State for serious reasons and on whim, dropping in and out of programs and switching from vocational-technical fields to the academic and back, just as they have in the past. The University's function is to provide them with those opportunities to the best of its capabilities.

In 1941, the Territorial Legislature amended the school laws in an attempt to provide forms of junior college services in the following manner: "High schools shall mean schools offering work in grade nine to fourteen, inclusive; provided that the thirteenth and fourteenth years of high school shall be restricted to courses in vocational training and, may be offered only in city schools and in schools in incorporated school districts. . . ." (41 SLA 1941). Few districts were willing to take on the added burdens for such restricted offerings and the pressures for a more comprehensive broadening of the higher educational base continued. After considerable study, the Legislature passed a community

College Act (57 SLA 1953)[19] in 1953 by which such institutions were to be developed by the local school districts while transfer courses and academic instructors were placed under the control of the University of Alaska Board of Regents. Following the Act of Statehood and the reorganization of Alaska's institutions, a second Community College Act (75 SLA 1962) was written by the State Legislature in 1962. It is basically similar to the Act of 1953, but it provided remedies for certain funding and academic problems that plagued the first legislation. The Act provided for the establishment of community colleges in the following words:

> A qualified school district or political subdivision may make an agreement with the University of Alaska for the establishment, operation, and maintenance of a community college. A qualified school district or qualified political subdivision shall pay all instructional and administrative costs for non-degree college programs and activities offered (Sect. 3, Ch 75 SLA 1962).

It then went on to define the relationship of the districts to the Board of Regents:

> (a) Since academic education beyond the high school level is a statewide responsibility, the board, in its discretion and as the need arises, may cooperate with the federal government and qualified school districts and political subdivisions in the establishment of appropriate higher educational programs and activities. The board is responsible for the selection of all community college instructors, part and full-time, for the academic degree programs and activities, and shall pay all instructional and administrative costs, including cost of special equipment and instructional materials, for academic degree programs and activities offered.
>
> (b) Selected upper division and graduate level courses of

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[19] A 1955 amendment (58 SLA 1955) to this Act required that all moneys for the community colleges would thenceforth be collected and disbursed by the Board of Regents.

> instruction, offered by the University through its off-campus instructional program to meet local needs, may be coordinated through the office of the director of a community college (Sec. 4).

The head of each community college was designated "director," and was to be hired by the Board of Regents, "subject to approval by the governing body of the school district or political subdivision" (Sec. 6). In order to assure the centralization of authority into the hands of the Board, the Act further spelled out that authority:

> A community college established by the University in cooperation with school districts or political subdivisions shall be established, maintained, and operated under rules and regulations adopted by the board. The selection and academic qualifications for personnel and the curriculum of a community college, insofar as it pertains to academic degree programs and activities, is the responsibility of the board. The selection and qualifications of personnel for nondegree programs and activities of the community college are the responsibility of the governing body of the school district or political subdivision (Sect. 7).

Subject to other regulations of the Board of Regents, the requirements for initiating a community college were not complex and were described in the following manner:

> (1) "community colleges" means a program of education established by the University of Alaska in cooperation with qualified school districts or qualified political subdivisions of the state, including both academic degree and nondegree programs;
>
> (2) "qualified school district" or "qualified political subdivision" means a school district or political subdivision organized under the laws of the state, or a group of two or more contiguous school districts or political subdivisions of the state, or a combination of each, which combination, considered as a unit, meets the following minimum requirements for the establishment of a community college:
>
> (A) makes application to the Board of Regents of the University of Alaska for participation in the community college program;
>
> (B) satisfies educational standards of the University of Alaska according to criteria established by the Board of Regents;
>
> (C) has had an average daily membership during the previous

> school year of at least 75 high school students, grades 9-12;
> (D) has established to the satisfaction of the Board of Regents the practical need for a community college within the district or political subdivision; and
> (E) makes arrangements for defraying its proper share of the costs of the operation and maintenance of a community college, as provided by the other terms of this chapter;
> (3) "board of regents" or "board" means the Board of Regents of the University of Alaska (Sect. 2).

Under the two Acts, community colleges were first established at Anchorage and Ketchikan in 1954, and later at Juneau-Douglas, Kenai, Sitka, Matanuska-Susitna, Kodiak and, most recently, Bethel. Those community colleges, except for Bethel (which is now known as Kuskokwim Community College), were all located in metropolitan centers, the majority of whose people were non-Native. Bethel represents a trend of building such institutions in the northern, rural districts of the State as well, and it appears at this writing that other community colleges will be established, perhaps within the decade, at Ft. Yukon, Barrow, Nome, Kotzebue, Unalakleet, Dillingham, and possibly other places. A continuing problem with certain community colleges, for example Anchorage, is that of pressures to transform certain schools into four-year, academic colleges, on the one hand, and to maintain their two-year, vocational-technical orientation, on the other. It would seem that the Board of Regents, or the Legislature, will be forced to face that problem squarely very soon, possibly providing the means for the development of both types of schools where the communities feel there is a need for both.

The University of Alaska had been given constitutional status by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention which was held on its campus from November, 1955, to February, 1956. With the passage of the Statehood Act in 1958, and its proclamation in January, 1959, the following provisions of the State Constitution became operative:

> Section 2. The University of Alaska is hereby established as the state university and constituted a body corporate. It shall have title to all real and personal property now or hereafter set aside for or conveyed to it. Its property shall be administered and disposed of according to law.
>
> Section 3. The University of Alaska shall be governed by a board of regents. The regents shall be appointed by the governor, subject to confirmation by a majority of the members of the legislature in joint session. The board shall, in accordance with law, formulate policy and appoint the president of the university. He shall be the executive officer of the board.[20]

Past legislation concerning the University remained in force, but was subject to the confines of the above constitutional prerogatives. In the decade following the implementation of statehood, the growth of the University was relatively phenomenal. From 1958-68 the number of full-time and part-time students at the Fairbanks campus more than tripled, growing from 696 to 2,254.[21] In addition, the community colleges counted 3,470 students by 1968.[22] (By adding to those figures 736 at Alaska Methodist University and 175 at Sheldon Jackson College, there was a grand total of 6,635 students attending the institutions of higher learning in Alaska by 1968.[23]) While the student population growth was impressive, that was only a part of the picture of the University's accelerated development as the State's center of intellectual activities.

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[20] *The Constitution of the State of Alaska*, Article VII.

[21] James Sullivan and William Rose, *Alaska School Enrollments: Enrollments by Race and Location in Elementary and Secondary Schools, and College and University Enrollments*, 1958-59, (Fairbanks: ISEGR, 1970), p. 503. (Full-time students include those registered for twelve or more credit-hours.)

[22] *Ibid*.

The establishment of research institutes primarily at the Fairbanks campus, but also in other locations around the State, will possibly, in the long range, be the most outstanding feature of the University's contributions to the State and nation. From its beginnings as an agricultural and mining college the University has been research-oriented. Agricultural stations in the Tanana and Matanuska valleys contributed to the growing world knowledge of the ecology of northern lands. In addition, the locale of the school attracted an unusual breed of men and women to the faculty who were aggressive, action-oriented, and largely unfettered by the established, and sometimes restrictive, traditions of other places. They had given up many of the softer amenities of life in order to live and work in Fairbanks, but in return they were allowed a wide range of freedom to conduct unique experiments and studies in that little-known northern environment. They, in turn, attracted other talent of a similar nature.

The Geophysical Institute was founded in 1949[24] with a primary mission of conducting research into such northern phenomena as the Aurora Borealis. The greatest growth in the founding of institutes took place in the 1960's, and by the end of the decade the following had been firmly established: the Institute of Marine Science; the Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research; the Marine Industry Research Laboratory; the Musk Ox Project; the Institute of Water Resources; the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory; the Institute of Arctic Biology; the Institute of Arctic Environmental Engineering; the Alaska Cooperative Wildlife Research Unit; and the Institute of Agricultural Sciences.[25] These were followed in 1971 by the Center for Northern Education, which was founded to coordinate all of the diverse activities that had developed in Alaska since the 1950's in the area of Alaska rural and Native education, and to conduct and publish original research in that area.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] The Starcher Report, p. 88.

It is worth noting that despite the outstanding contributions that the University's institutes have made to the common fund of knowledge, and the expertise which they maintained in their specific areas, the general Alaskan public does not seem to be overly aware of their potential. Although a growing number of governmental agencies and certain businessmen are turning to such institutes for advice and data, Alaskans generally are prone to turn to organizations in the continental states when consultative services are required. This is probably the result of the many years when such services were not available in Alaska. There is also a tendency to distrust individuals and institutions within Alaska; they are sometimes thought not to be quite as "expert" as those from outside the state. Most often, however, the reverse is the case: outside firms, unfamiliar with the unique conditions in Alaska, the geographical vastness, the diversity of the peoples, the climatic conditions, spend a great amount of their time simply learning about such factors and consequently less of it in application. A recent report on higher education in Alaska, by an outside, neutral observer, viewed the institutes of the University of Alaska in a most positive light and described them in this manner: "The institutes are among the brightest jewels in the State's academic and research crown. There are many evidences of exceptionally high quality work being done in the institutes. For example, the National Science Foundation in its report to Congress has chosen work at the University of Alaska institutes as some of the most worthy items for inclusion in their report for the current year."[26]

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[25] Ibid., p. 89.

There has been some apprehension among certain elements of the University's faculty concerning the institutes' apparent dominant role within the structure of the system. This has been especially the case in recent years at the Anchorage campus where dissent among the faculty has taken on militant tones. The faculty at Anchorage resent what they see as a "poor-sister" relationship that they have with the faculty at Fairbanks. They complain that they are denied equal rank, tenure and pay with their peers at Fairbanks simply because that is where the administration is concentrated and where internal politics takes place.

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[26] The Starcher Report, pp. 87-88.

Some go ~~so far as espousing the break-up of~~ the statewide system and the chartering of independent institutions in each area of the State. Although there is a basis of fact in the complaints, especially in the past, some of the dissent centers around a type of "Young Turk" faculty element that has taken on the tactics of confrontation-politics that were so popular across the nation in the late 1960's. Many of the Anchorage faculty are young, recent arrivals to the State and tend to be impatient to change the system along the lines of what they were familiar with "back home"; a few are frankly interested in self-aggrandizement either through local politics or other non-academic endeavors. On the other hand, there remains a considerable system-wide sentiment that perhaps the University is becoming "overly research-minded," to the detriment of the academic programs. Budget figures are used to support such arguments and the State Legislature, from time to time, has moved into the center of such controversies with threats to either cut certain budget items or mandate curricular and program allotments. But as the Starcher Report of 1972 pointed out, the institutes bring into the State more funds than are contributed through local appropriations,[27] and remarked that "The very fact that Alaska has a base for the discovery of new knowledge which can expand is something worth preserving. It is going to be increasingly important to think of State funds spent by the institutes as seed money that brings in other funds."[28] For example, during the 1969-70 academic year the University received slightly over $28,000,000 from all sources for its operations; the State's share, through appropriations came to only $11,876,000 (or 42%).[29] The balance came from federal and foundation grants.

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[27] The Starcher Report, pp. 90-92.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Another unique feature of the University's development has been that of the establishment of semi-autonomous regions which contain the community colleges, the extension services, the branches, or "senior colleges," that offer upper division and graduate transfer programs. For purposes of administration, the University has divided the State into three regions, each headed by a provost: Northern Region, headquartered at Fairbanks; Southcentral Region, centered at Anchorage; and Southeastern Region, at Juneau. Each region coordinates all programs, such as community college, extension, senior college and graduate, within its area with those of the University on a statewide basis. At Anchorage, where a "senior college" was established by the Board of Regents in 1970, the region developed a branch campus that rivals the home campus at Fairbanks. Reflecting that growth, terms have been coined to identify the major divisions as the "University of Alaska at Anchorage" and the "Fairbanks campus," whereas previously Fairbanks was known as the "Main Campus." Anchorage has tended to concentrate on the liberal arts, as well as providing an excellent program in education. Fairbanks has continued to be the engineering, research and "hard sciences" center of the system.

As of September, 1972, total head-count enrollments, that is, full-time and part-time students, in those two major University of Alaska regions were as follows:

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[29] _Ibid._, p. 95.

--Northern Region (Fairbanks): 3,158[30]

--Southcentral Region (Anchorage): 6,029[31]

By fall semester of 1972, the University of Alaska, including all regional and community college branches, had grown into a statewide system that served 12,429 students, had a faculty of 580 full-time and part-time professors, and had received an appropriation for that year of $31,450,000.[32] Such figures may not seem impressive when compared to those of the more heavily populated continental states, but when one harks back fifty years, to 1922, when the system first opened its doors to six students and six professors, and had received an appropriation of $41,000, that growth must be viewed as considerable.

Private Higher Education in Alaska

Sheldon Jackson College

Originally founded as a missionary school at Sitka in 1878,

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[30] E. L. McLean, *Higher Education in Alaska: A Report Based Upon Follow-up Visits to Sitka, College and Anchorage*, (Juneau: Alaska Legislative Council, Subcommittee on Higher Education, January, 1973), pp. 16-17.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 37. (Anchorage Community College: 4,522; senior division: 1,507.) (The only available figure for Southeastern Region is 278 full-time equivalent students as of September, 1972. McLean, p. 15.)

[32] University of Alaska, Office of Planning, "Headcount of Students by Racial Origin," March 27, 1973. (Information received by telephone from University of Alaska, Center for Northern Education, May 31, 1973.)

Sheldon Jackson College remained in that role until 1944, when it became the only two-year dormitory college in Alaska.[33] The school extended its curriculum to include post-secondary courses in 1944 and has evolved into a tertiary institution since that time.

The school was accredited as a two-year college following an evaluation in 1966,[34] and was owned and operated by the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church until January, 1972, when it was reorganized and made independent. In 1971, some 130 students attended Sheldon Jackson College and a staff of fifteen instructed them in transferable liberal arts and vocational-technical courses.[35] It is a "college of Christian purpose," and has been dedicated, since its inception to the education of Alaska Natives, who constituted about sixty percent of the 1971 student body.[36] The phasing out by the Presbyterian Church of its formal ties with Sheldon Jackson College[37] has presented both positive and negative results. While a loosening of sectarian ties, it was felt, would result in a broadening of public good-will, more flexible programming and more easy access to public and foundation funds, the immediate result was damaging, for the Presbyterian Church slashed its contributions drastically from $190,000 to $100,000 in one year.[38] In addition, since there was somewhat of a duplication in course offerings between Sheldon Jackson College and Sitka Community College, in a town of only 6,500 people, the 1972 Starcher Report predicted that no major increase in the student body would occur in the immediate future to offset rising costs.[39]

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[33] The Starcher Report, p. 162.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. 164.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 165.

The other private higher educational institution, Alaska Methodist University, faced problems similar to those of Sheldon Jackson College. Because of popular sentiment and practical economics, it became politically prudent to assure the survival of each school, and a subcommittee of the Alaska Legislative Council conducted a hearing into such problems on January 7 and 8, 1972.[40] It authorized the University of Alaska to work out "memorandums of understanding" (or more popularly called "Consortium Agreements") with the two private institutions whereby certain facilities and staff would be shared and other mutual problems studied in a kind of joint-venture arrangement. The agreement between the University, which was to be binding on Sitka Community College, and Sheldon Jackson, called for a joint consortium committee that was to be activated by february, 1972.[41] Since a similar agreement was also negotiated between the State system and Alaska Methodist University, and because such an agreement is precedent-setting in Alaska, the major provisions of the document are included here for the benefit of the reader:

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[38] The Starcher Report, p. 165.

[39] *Ibid*., pp. 167-169.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 190.

[41] *Ibid*., p. 217.

> 1. The Board of Regents of U of A and the Board of Trustees of SJC will establish no later than February 1, 1972, a consortium committee to develop a plan of action for implementing cooperation between SJC and Sitka Community College of the U of A. Membership will be eight, four appointed by each part and composed primarily of Sitka residents. The consortium committee will meet no less frequently than every six weeks beginning in February, 1972. It is further agreed that the Subcommittee on Higher Education of the Alaska Legislative Council will be asked to continue their interest in this agreement by providing a staff member or consultant to attend each of the meetings of the consortium committee at least for the remainder of calendar year, 1972.
>
> 2. The consortium committee will work toward joint use of facilities, including particularly a library which can be used jointly. SJC endorses the planning for a new facility to be built by the State of Alaska for the Sitka Community College of the U of A with plans for this facility to be brought before the consortium committee, as well as any plans for new buildings at SJC.
>
> 3. Both SJC and the Sitka Community College of the U of A will bring before the consortium committee its course offerings three months before the beginning of a major term to avoid duplication. Hopefully, joint announcements can be made and pre-planning conducted by both institutions well in advance. The consortium committee will explore the possibility of a common calendar for major terms.
>
> 4. The two institutions agree to enter into an agreement for contractual services, recognizing that at least for the next two years, this primarily will be Sitka Community College offering its students certain classes at SJC for which the U of A will pay SJC for services rendered. A minimum amount will be agreed upon for the 1972-73 academic year for inclusion in the U of A budget request. These contractual services may also include instructional services if needed and available, and lease of facilities if needed and available. Students enrolled at Sitka Community College of U of A can thus enroll in agreed-upon courses at SJC by paying the tuition rate of the Sitka Community College of the U of A.[42]

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[42] The Starcher Report, pp. 219-220.

The other problem, that of declining budgets at the two private institutions in the face of rising costs, was handled in a typically American manner: that is, only after a great amount of political turmoil across the State, and public debate lasting some two years, was the Legislature able to devise a method by which public funds could be appropriated to aid students who attended the two schools. Although the Alaska Constitution, unlike some others, did not have a detailed or stringent clause prohibiting public appropriations to private and sectarian institutions, it did allude to a general prohibition in the following manner:

> Section 1. The legislature shall by general law establish and maintain a system of public schools open to all children of the State, and may provide for other public educational institutions. Schools and institutions so established shall be free from sectarian control. No money shall be paid from public funds for the direct benefit of any religious or other private educational institution.[43]

The arguments turned on the meaning of "direct benefit" and, following a series of hearings in which legal and other opinions were aired, the State Legislature passed and sent to the Governor legislation permitting a grant to students in an amount that would make up the difference between their private school tuition charges and that of the public university. The legislation (156 SLA 1972), popularly known as the "Tuition Remission Act," was actually an amendment to an already existing scholarship loan program. It became effective on July 1, 1972, and its key provisions were worded as follows:

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[43] The Constitution of the State of Alaska, Article VII.

Sec. 14.40.776. TUITION GRANTS. (a) The executive secretary of the selection committee shall award a tuition grant to a student in an amount up to the difference between (1) the cost, in a city where there is both a four-year state university and a four-year private university or in a city where there is both a two-year state community college and a two-year private college, for the operation of the state institution on a full-time student per academic year basis, and (2) the tuition paid by the student at the state institution in those locations, but in no case may the amount exceed $1,400. The amount is to be applied by the student toward his tuition at the private university or college in which he enrolls.

(b) The computation of the cost for the operation of the state institution on a full-time student per academic year basis under (a) of this section may not include construction or capital improvement costs, debt service and expenditures for research and public service functions.

Sec. 14.40.781. LIMITATION ON GRANTS. No grants may be made under sec. 776 of this chapter for any portion of tuition which would otherwise be paid under the terms of a federal grant program.

Sec. 14.40.786. CONDITIONS OF GRANTS. (a) Proceeds from grants may be used only for tuition at a college or university in Alaska accredited by the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. If payment is made by issuing a state warrant in the amount of the grant, it shall be paid to the order, jointly, of the student and the private university or college in which he enrolls to ensure that the grant is used solely for tuition.

Thus were Sheldon Jackson College's major readjustment problems solved. The results were immediate and encouraging, for the full-time enrollment jumped from 132 in the fall of 1971 to 168 in the fall of 1972 (a 27% increase).[44] Additionally, the total head-count, that is, part-time as well as full-time enrollment, increased from 211 in 1971 to 259 in 1972 (or 23%).[45] At this writing, it would appear that Sheldon Jackson College had survived and would continue to make its own unique contributions to higher education in Alaska.

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[44] McLean, Higher Education in Alaska, p. 13.

Alaska Methodist University

Dedicated in ceremonies at Anchorage in 1958,[46] Alaska Methodist University opened its doors to 152 students in the fall of 1960 and received accreditation in 1964.[47] Alaska Methodist University, as its name indicates, was sponsored by the Division of National Missions of the Methodist Church as a liberal arts school, and has maintained that orientation since its founding. The school grew quickly in its first years, enrolling a total of 571 for a full-time equivalent of 476 in the fall of 1967,[48] but its growth has not increased markedly in the years since. The faculty in 1967 numbered thirty-seven full-time and sixteen part-time instructors,[49] and the school offered four years of training toward a bachelor's degree along with a Master of Arts in Teaching.[50] Many of the problems encountered by Sheldon Jackson College, and described above, were similarly encountered and solved by Alaska Methodist

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[45] Ibid. (Full-time students include those who are registered for 12 or more academic credit-hours.)

[46] The Starcher Report, p. 131.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., p. 136.

[49] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

[50] Ibid., p. 131.

University. Mention to those situations here will be made only in passing, except where there are marked differences or where certain developments were peculiar to Alaska Methodist University.

For example, both institutions faced disaffiliation from their religious sponsors at about the time that they were meeting strong competition for students from the University of Alaska through its local community colleges and the extension of other forms of public higher education. Originally, Alaska Methodist University had been established in Anchorage because, at the time, a four-year institution did not exist there, nor was one planned. A type of unwritten agreement was entered into whereby Alaska Methodist would be allowed to maintain its preeminence in the liberal arts area if, and when, the University of Alaska expanded its operations in that growing metropolis. Rising costs at the private institution, reflected in ever higher tuition charges, coupled with public pressure to extend the University of Alaska's programs into the Anchorage area soon resulted in the authorization for upper division courses at Anchorage Community College in 1962 (75 SLA 1962) and the establishment of the Southcentral Region in 1968. Since Alaska Methodist University was popular with the people of Anchorage, a city that contained over one-third of the State's population, pressures began to build in the Legislature for some form of relief for such private institutions.

The Territory of Alaska in 1935 had enacted legislation creating scholarship grants at the University of Alaska for certain high school graduates who obtained the highest cumulative grade average in their class (64 SLA 1935). Over the years, other legislation amended that Act to include direct money loans as well as grants, and to include other institutions. In 1970, such legislation was revised and a new article was included to provide "tuition equalization" for students attending the private schools in the form of certain "contractual services" negotiated between those institutions and the University of Alaska. That Act (230 SLA 1970) was carefully drawn to exclude payments for religious training:

> Sec. 14.40.900. CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENTS. The state shall, through the Alaska Higher Education Commission which has been authorized and created under AS 14.50.010 and 14.50.080, enter into contractual agreements with accredited, privately sponsored institutions of higher education in Alaska for the provision of educational services to Alaska residents. Payments under the contractual agreements shall include
>
> (1) full tuition and required fees charged by the institution for each student less charges made for the same items at the University of Alaska or the appropriate community college; and
> (2) an amount of $250 a semester for each full-time student and a pro rata amount for each part-time student.
>
> Sec. 14.40.910. EXCEPTIONS. No payment may be made for any course in sectarian religion or partisan politics under a contract made under sec. 900 of this chapter.

Despite the wording, the State Legislative Affairs Agency issued an opinion that the "contractual services" clauses of the 1970 Act were unconstitutional.[51] The Legislature then repealed those provisions and again revised the student loan program (98 SLA 1971). Alaska Methodist University threatened to close its doors, and a great controversy erupted, both among the people of Anchorage and the legislators at

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[51] The Starcher Report, p. 146.

Juneau. Following many threats, accusations, parliamentary maneuvers and compromises, the "tuition remission" Act of 1972, discussed previously, was enacted.

A previous "Consortium Agreement" between Alaska Methodist University and the University of Alaska, drawn up in 1969 and similar to that with Sheldon Jackson College, was used as a vehicle by which the Anchorage branch of the University of Alaska was to lease certain parcels of Alaska Methodist University lands for its own use.[52] That agreement caused further controversy, however, and was revised so that Alaska Methodist University would sell such land rather than lease it. The Legislature then appropriated the amount agreed upon in the following manner:

> Section 1. The sum of $1,950,000 is appropriated from the general fund to the University of Alaska to implement the Memorandum of Understanding between the Board of Regents of The University of Alaska and the Board of Trustees of Alaska Methodist University, March 11, 1972, for the conveyance by the Board of Trustees of Alaska Methodist University of certain parcels of real property in Anchorage to the Board of Regents of the University of Alaska (27 SLA 1972).

Further agreements between the two institutions provided for the joint-sharing of facilities and staff as in the Sitka agreement. Efforts were made to enforce similar opening and closing dates, course descriptions and numbers, and a scheme to allow "cross-registration" between the two schools was implemented. A new library, built midway between the two institutions, was opened in the fall of 1972 for the use of both student bodies.

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[52] The Starcher Report, pp. 191-193.

By November 1, 1972, the registrar at Alaska Methodist University was able to report that 507 full-time students were attending the institution compared to 425 the year previously (for an increase of 19%).[53] For the first time in years, the budget was not only balanced, but showed a small surplus for the projected 1972-73 fiscal year.[54]

Other problems of an inter-personal nature grew out of the agreements and legislation discussed above, and these sometimes caught the administrators of the two schools by surprise because they were not originally contemplated. Certain of the Anchorage Community College faculty resented the consortium arrangements because it was "difficult for them to understand a program subsidized by state grants to students to enable them to attend a private institution. . . ."[55] The same sentiment existed when the new consortium library was ready for occupancy, and it was finally necessary to agree to allot 10,000 volumes to a subsidiary library at the community college[56] in order to pacify ruffled egos.

Still, Alaska Methodist University had survived its greatest crisis and, with renewed confidence, it reviewed its mission and began plans, in 1972, to revise its curriculum by centering it around four "clusters": (1) the liberal arts, (2) Native Studies, (3) health sciences and (4) environmental studies.[57] The wisdom of the legislators and others who recognized the innovative flexibilities of some private institutions, and who provided the means of survival for Alaska Methodist University, will surely be noted by many in the future, if not by a few in the present era. For if the institution develops along the lines of its new mission, and thoroughly probes those areas, it will contribute a store of knowledge to the State's society fully as important as that of the larger, public university.

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[53] McLean, Higher Education in Alaska, p. 25.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Higher Education and the Alaska Native Peoples

When reflecting on the achievements of the Alaska Native peoples over the past half century, and particularly during the last two decades as described in Chapter IV, it is striking that the bulk of their leaders had a minimum of education for success in the United States. It is true that a few had earned bachelor degrees or higher in a variety of fields,[58] but the great majority of them had advanced no further than high school. Many had not even reached that level prior to their greatest achievement: that of settling the land issue. Indeed, as it turned out, the most effective spokesmen for the Native peoples during the land claims movement, both at home and in the halls of Congress,[59] were often those who had received a minimal formal education. And the leadership only reflected the condition of the great bulk of the Native peoples in what is known as the "bush" regions of Alaska. As will be described below, those people had reached a median level of education barely one-fourth that of the non-Native people and yet were able to band together, organize, and produce leaders to face, what they considered, their greatest crisis and to overcome it. It can only be surmised, at this point, as to the end results if the Native peoples and their leaders had received educational training on a par with those of their neighbors.

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[57] Ibid., p. 39.

[58] See John Eichman, Who's Who in Alaska, for a comprehensive listing as of 1967.

[59] See Alaska Native Land Claims Hearings, House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, both volumes, dated 1969 and 1971.

As described earlier in this study, the idea that aboriginal peoples could be educated and "civilized" on a level equal to whites was an absurdity to a majority of whites up to, and past, the turn of the last century. The education that was provided in the remote areas of Alaska, where the majority of the Natives lived, was oriented toward domestic and mechanical vocations and not to the academic. A few Native children were noted by the missionary-teachers, from time to time, to have outstanding abilities of an intellectual nature and some of these were singled out for special training. Or, village orphans, abandoned as a result of some family or village catastrophe, were boarded with the teachers and a few were even adopted by and raised as whites. Such instances were exceptions, however, and the general thrust of early day Native education was to teach the "basics": enough reading, writing and arithmetic to satisfy the "Course of Study" of the Commissioner of Education, and "mechanical and domestic" training by way of keeping the building and grounds clean.[60]

Because of the nature of the early schools, very few Natives were even aware of, or could hope to obtain, a higher education. John Eichman, in a Bureau of Indian Affairs study, published in 1967,[61] listed only four Natives who had received degrees of any sort prior to 1930, and such training in each case was at a religious seminary or a school connected to a religious body. For example, Eichman dedicated the study to Edward Marsden, a Tsimshian, as the first Native college graduate. Marsden received a degree from Carlisle College in 1895, continued at Marietta College and Lane Technological Seminary, Ohio, and was ordained in 1898.[62]

Following the devastating influenza epidemic of 1917-1919 that swept through the villages of Western and Northern Alaska, the federal government established three orphanage-schools to care for the large number of children whose parents had perished.[63] The schools were located at White Mountain on the Seward Peninsula, Kanakanak on Bristol Bay, and Eklutna, just north of Anchorage.[64] The U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, which had previously established boarding high schools on the reservations in the continental states, converted the orphanage-schools to "industrial schools" in 1926.[65] The purpose of the new schools was to enroll and then train the brightest of the Native young people in such a manner that they would return to their villages as competent and efficient leaders. The goals were spelled out as follows:

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[60] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, pp. 370-376.

[61] Eichman, Who's Who in Alaska.

[62] Ibid., p. 10.

[63] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, p. 393.

[64] Ibid.

> As conceived, the purpose of these schools is to offer native boys and girls specialized instruction of an industrial nature such as the ordinary day school is not equipped for at the present, and to give training, encouragement, and help to exceptional young people that they may better cope with the peculiar conditions under which they live; and they in turn to render service to their own people by pointing better ways to utilize the natural resources, to build better homes and communities, and to live fuller, richer, and happier lives . . . . The academic work of the ordinary day school will in no way be dispensed with but will be supplemented with such industrial subjects as are found to be fitted to the most practical needs of the native peoples of the different sections of Alaska. Animal husbandry, fishing, business administration, homemaking, nursing and sanitation, and the making of fur garments for the girls will form the nucleus around which other courses will be grouped to make up the curriculum. . . . As students, it is desired that only those who are physically and morally sound should be enrolled. In no sense of the word are these institutions to be correctional, neither are they to be equipped to care for the sick from disease or deformity. It is proposed to select those who show a special aptitude or promise of becoming leaders and a disposition to devote their energies and services to the betterment of their own people and the communities in which they live.
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> Since the capacity for the accommodation of these students will be limited--application for admission must be vouched for by the teacher of the local station or village school, supported by the recommendation of the district superintendent. They should be between the ages of twelve and eighteen, should have completed the work of the fourth grade, and, as indicated above, demonstrate that they have ability through which they will be materially benefited.[66]

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

The industrial school system did not work out as planned, however, for by 1934, the schools were continuing to take in stray orphans, village "misfits" who were placed in the schools by U.S. Commissioner's courts, and children who had not attained the fourth grade level.[67] The reputations of the schools were further brought into question when certain of the staffs at two of them were accused of "illicit relationships" with students and were brought before a court.[68] Following a wide-ranging study of Native education in 1935, including the industrial schools, Anderson and Eells proposed that, if the government schools were serious about developing an educated Native leadership, the curricula should be reformed along the following lines:

> -- Since it is not advisable to hasten unduly the process of civilization, the guiding principle should be an adjustment of the elements of the new and the old cultures rather than the ruthless substitution of the new for the old.
> -- Since in adopting the Western forms of civilization many psycho-social characteristics of the natives have been influenced detrimentally, the curriculum should include character-decision activities calculated to re-establish the native virtues and to strengthen the desirable characteristics which these people are acquiring from their contacts with the white race.
> -- The arts of the shaman and the shamanistic culture should be thoroughly studied by teachers, and the traditional legends, dances, and ceremonials should be fostered for their cultural and recreational values.
> -- The native games, sports, and activities should form the basis for the school and community program of physical education and recreation. These should be augmented by the addition of those American team games which are suitable to the natives in their environment.
> -- The aims of this new education should be fourfold: (a) Character development--training in personal and social habits

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[67] Ibid., pp. 393-396.

[68] Ibid., p. 397.

> and attitudes based upon mutual understanding and appreciation, and directed toward goals which are the results of adjustment of personal desires to social ends; (b) Understanding, use, and appreciation of the natural and social environment; (c) Appreciation and enjoyment of racial culture as expressed in music, art, literature, and history; (d) Ability to employ the tools of social intercourse--speech, reading, writing, and concept of numbers--to an extent sufficient for participation in social-economic activities.
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> -- The daily program should be adapted to the new curriculum needs, which should result in a division of the day into three sections instead of the many small time units which now prevail. These three divisions should each be directed toward specific ends, each utilizing specific materials. The cores should be: Appreciation; Socio-Civic; and Applied Arts.
>
> -- Industrial school enrollment should be immediately limited to pupils old enough and intellectually and morally equipped to profit by intensive training for leadership.[69]

In retrospect, it is somewhat amazing that that report, published in 1935, pointed out discrepancies in the Alaska educational system and offered solutions that are viewed as "innovative" in 1973.

Except for certain of the missionary societies, perhaps, the idea of higher education for Natives appears to be a subject that was not entertained by Alaska's educational leaders, even as late as 1930. A former Territorial Commissioner of Education, in a study concerning Alaska higher education, wrote that in his opinion, "In any consideration of general population and school population in relation to higher education, account need be taken of representatives of the white race only. . . . The aboriginal population, while equal to the white in many sections and larger in other sections is not a consideration when the establishment of higher institutions of learning is contemplated, in view of the fact that a very small percent of the aboriginal children complete the eighth grade and an almost negligible number the high school. These people will not be a factor from a higher education standpoint for at least two generations, if one is to judge from their past rate of progress."[70] (There is an element of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" in such reasoning, for a number of other school officials took the same stance and too often proved correct in their predictions.[71]) In fact, the Natives became a very definite factor in Alaskan higher education during the decade of the 1960's, not in 1990 as estimated above. Despite such pessimism of the early day educators, certain of the Native people have moved swiftly into a number of key sectors of the general Alaskan society, influencing changes in that society at the time that they themselves were changing. Lee Salisbury, while discussing cultural change, remarked that the analogy of a person crossing a bridge from one culture to another was "fallacious because it implies that neither culture is changing. And, Western culture, in particular, is changing at blinding speed."[72] As with the Native societies and the higher educational system, the State as a whole had faced unprecedented change during the two decades, 1950-1970. The authors of the Starcher Report commented that "In Alaska, changes come faster than in most other parts of the Nation. In some ways Alaska has gone through 100 years of history during the last 15 years. . . ."[73] Which would mean, if the analogy were applied to the Native peoples, that they had experienced 200 years of Western history in ten.

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[69] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, pp. 436-437. (The recommendations are only a few taken as examples from a very lengthy report presented by the authors.)

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[70] Lester Henderson, "Should Alaska Establish Junior Colleges?" pp. 33-34.

[71] One of the complaints most often heard by the writer of the present study from Natives of the 1930 and 1940 generations is that they were seldom encouraged by school officials to continue their studies in higher institutions. This writer was once told, in high school, not to worry about college because that was beyond practical attainment.

[72] Lee Salisbury, College Orientation Program for Alaska Natives: COPAN--Education for Survival, (Fairbanks: ISEGR, February, 1971), p. 22. (Hereinafter cited as COPAN.)

The previously mentioned Eichman study of Alaska Native college graduates from 1895 to 1967, lists a total of twenty-four degrees attained by Natives from 1895 to 1950, and 101 from 1950 to 1967.[74] (Although the author admits that his listings probably contain errors as to detail, it is the only such compilation available and, while the figures may be used as estimates, the reader should be aware of possible inaccuracies.) Other U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs data indicate that the total number of Natives attending institutions of higher learning, in Alaska and the other states, rose from fifty-four in the 1955-56 academic year to 387 in 1959-60.[75] While these figures include non-degree vocational-technical students and others attending non-college, post-secondary schools, they again, when used with care, indicate a remarkable quantum leap in the numbers of Natives who were receiving advanced training. A close examination of raw data collected from the

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[73] The Starcher Report, p. 53.

[74] Eichman, Who's Who in Alaska.

[75] U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Survey of Students Attending Schools of Higher Learning, 1962-63, (Juneau: By the Author, 1963), p. i.

U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs for the years 1962 to 1966[76] concerning Native students in higher educational institutions, confirms the dramatic surge in college attendance in the 1960's as compared to past decades. When those Native students who were attending the Alaskan institutions, i.e., University of Alaska, Alaska Methodist University and Sheldon Jackson College, were separated from those attending schools in the other states, the Alaska attendance figures were as follows:

1962-63.	131
1963-64.	136
1964-65.	124
1965-66.	165[77]

Thus, if the previously mentioned fifty-four students enrolled in all higher institutions during 1955-56 is accurate and if even two-thirds of them were attending Alaskan institutions, then the rise from thirty-six at that date to 165 in 1966 represents an increase of better than 300 percent. However, a further caution needs to be voiced at this point: if more Native students had attended college in the earlier years, the figures would not be so nearly impressive. The fact remains that a community of 43,000 people, the number of Natives living in Alaska in 1960,[78] had a very small number of their members attending institutions of higher learning at that time.

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[76] Ibid., vols. 1962-63, 1963-64, 1964-65, 1965-66. (These volumes contain a listing of students by name, year in school, major field, home town, and institution--e.g., University of Alaska, Gonzaga University, etc. Again, while this material is questionable in detail, it provides the only such data. For some reason, the Bureau did not have similar data for the years after 1966.)

[77] The above figures were arrived at by subtracting the actual number of students, as listed, who were attending Alaskan institutions from the total given for all students attending colleges and universities. For example, a total of 174 students attending all colleges and universities in 1962-63 were listed. By subtracting the 131 enrolled in Alaskan schools, it appears that 43 were attending schools in the other states. Figures for the other years were similarly arrived at.

A further caution needs to be mentioned when college enrollment figures are discussed, especially those dealing with the Alaska Native population. Such figures list only those who had completed the registration process, not those who completed the semester or year. Traditionally, at the elementary and secondary level as well as the college, a very high attrition rate has existed among Native students. In a study based on an orientation program for pre-college Native students during 1963 to 1967, Salisbury remarked that "Over 50 percent of Native students entering the university are likely to drop out at the end of their first year. Less than two percent of the original group are likely to receive a college degree at the end of four years. Of a group of 50 entering Native freshmen, only one is likely to complete the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years."[79] (The study went on to point out that such high drop-out rates could be reduced substantially if the students were provided with special help, and indicated that those who received such help had a 51 percent chance of surviving, whereas those who did not had a 38.7 percent chance.[80])

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[78] Alaska's Population and Economy, vol. II, p. 28.

[79] Salisbury, COPAN, p. 2.

[80] Ibid., pp. 60 and 111.

Alaska Methodist University reported a similar experience with Native students: of the twenty-four Native students who attended that institution between 1960 and 1968, ten were dismissed, eight dropped out and only one was graduated.[81] During the academic year 1968-1969, Alaska Methodist University had twenty-six Natives in its student body and of those ten were dismissed, five dropped out, five were on academic probation, one transferred, and one was graduated.[82] In 1971, Alaska Methodist University's student body was one-fifth Native (numbering "80 out of a full-time attendance of about 400"),[83] and the school instituted a "Special Services" program in an attempt to stem the high Native attrition rates. In its rationale for the program, the University noted the following:

> National statistics on Indian education show that out of all enrolled students in universities only two percent graduate. The University of Alaska (Spring, 1970) found that out of every 1,000 Alaskan Native students 500 will graduate. Of these 500 only 50 will enroll in college, and of those 50 only 3 will graduate. We hope to be able to change that statistic for the better at Alaska Methodist University.[84]

Reliable data pertaining to Native students in higher education in Alaska is so scarce as to be almost non-existent, particularly for the years prior to 1968. A thorough study is vitally needed of Native student retention, attrition, patterns of attendance, transfer and graduation. For example, the so-called "drop-out" figures indicate very little about what is really taking place: Did the person transfer, or is he taking a semester break, or did he really quit for all time? Of much more importance, at least to the future well-being of the Native societies, is the question of what happens to those who succeed or "survive" in college. Despite all of the well-known, negative factors that interfere with a Native student's chances of graduating from college--e.g., language difficulties, cultural alienation, social ostracism, poverty--why do so many, in a relative sense, pass through the barriers and graduate? What is it, either within the educational system, the society, or the person that provides for that certain measure of success?

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[81] Alaska Methodist University, "A Cross Cultural Program of Special Services for Disadvantaged Alaskan Students," (A grant application to U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, dated April 27, 1970), p. 5.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Alaska Methodist University, "Special Services Project," (Anchorage: By the Author, 1971), p. 4.

[84] Ibid., p. 7.

Alaska Natives have graduated from Alaskan institutions of higher education, and are continuing to do so in ever-increasing numbers. The first Alaska Native to graduate from the University of Alaska was Flora Harper Petri, an Athabascan from Rampart, who received a bachelor's degree in home economics in 1935.[85] Although that was thirteen years from the time that the institution opened its doors in 1922, it was also the year that the Agricultural College and School of Mines became officially known as the University of Alaska. By 1967, forty-six other

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[85] Eichman, Who's Who in Alaska, p. 12. (This was confirmed through a telephone call to the University of Alaska, Center for Northern Education, May 31, 1973.)

Natives had earned a baccalaureate degree or higher from that institution.[86] While data of the type compiled in the Eichman study were not available for the years following 1967, estimates indicated that an additional 127 Natives earned bachelor's degrees from Alaskan institutions, with thirty-seven of those in 1972 alone.[87] In other words, while in forty-five years (1922-1967) only forty-seven Natives received bachelor's degrees from an Alaskan institution, that number nearly tripled in the five-year period, 1967-1972.

The University of Alaska, including all of its branches and community colleges, reported that 593 Native students were in attendance for the 1972-73 academic year.[88] (There were no such data available from Alaska Methodist University or Sheldon Jackson College at the time of this writing, but a conservative estimate of 150 total for the two schools would appear to be close.) Such enrollments are bound to grow in future years as Native parents, as well as the youth, become more exposed to and familiar with higher education. The cumulative effect of more and more Natives graduating from college, applying their training by accepting high positions in their home regions and the general society of the State, and presenting models to brothers and sisters and other relatives, will result in growing enrollments of Native students in the State's institutions. Thus, with continuing studies, the application of new knowledge gained from such studies, and the development of innovative programs and educational techniques on the campuses in Alaska, it may be possible to again double the above graduation figures in the next five years.

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[86] Ibid.

[87] University of Alaska, Institute of Social, Economic and Government Research, Letter dated April 2, 1973 (with data in raw form attached).

[88] University of Alaska, Office of Planning, "Headcount of Students by Racial Origin," March 27, 1973. (Data received by telephone from Center for Northern Education, May 31, 1973.)

Following are descriptions of the Native students as consumers, the programs developed by the institutions to meet student needs, and the adult Native community as both concerned guardian of the culture and ultimate benefactor of the higher educational process.

A Profile of the Alaska Native College Student

To discuss the subject "Native college student," it is necessary to present some generalizations. The reader of this study should be aware, however, that such generalizations are not stereotypes and should not be used in that sense. Keeping in mind the description that was presented in Chapter II, that the Native peoples are a diverse and polyglot segment of the general Alaskan society (a theme that was repeated throughout other chapters as well), they do, nevertheless, have certain commonalities that are culturally transferred to their offspring. A profile of Native students, based upon certain similarities in background, is possible to compose when the material used for the composition is carefully assessed prior to application.

It should be remembered, first of all, that higher education as it is generally understood in European and American societies has not as yet become a desired goal for a significant number of the Native peoples. In fact, the idea of young people prolonging their adolescence and dependence well into their twenties by years of training[89] is not generally understood nor accepted. There is also some apprehension that college "book-work" may even create a creature who is unable to function "as a Native." He may become as helpless as certain whites are when they are confronted with the rigors of living in the "bush." The point to remember is that the non-urban Native in Alaska is not one of the "oppressed minorities" of the American image. At home, in his village or region, he is master of his environment, and is fully capable of sustaining himself there. The region is not the desolate, windswept barrenland that an outsider might see; it is "home," and offers all of the comforts and assurances that that phrase connotes. The young Native only becomes a "minority" or stranger when he moves to a city or campus environment, and it is at that point that his world changes and he must rapidly develop new social tools in order to control his destiny. And when he returns to his home region he must resurrect his old framework of social intercourse in order to not be a minority there, also. A few do not make the return transition with grace, and that is the origin of a mistrust of higher educational training.

A theme that is repeated consistently among Native members of organizations that are concerned with education, is that such training must be of a dual nature: it must prepare the young to live in a village environment (the "traditional ways") and in an urban setting (the "new ways"). The young person will make a choice, when he matures, as to where he will live, and he may in fact migrate back and forth between the two societies several times in his life. In either case, he must be prepared for the life he will encounter, and that is a major concern of the adults. A report by the Committee on Higher Education of the Alaska Federation of Natives stated that the development of educational programs that prepare people to live in "the bush and the city must be one of the highest of institutional priorities."[90] Following the settlement of the land issue and the subsequent establishment of regional corporations that control millions of dollars in investments, business developments and social programs, it has become even more imperative that the educational offerings of the institutions take into consideration the special needs of the people who live in the bush regions of the State. The young people who arrive at the campus generally do not know the type of preparation they will need in order to contribute to their home societies or to the general, statewide society. Their parents and relatives, except in a few special instances, have not been exposed to the requirements of that type of activity in the past. Such students require counseling and access to planning services of a very special nature. It is not enough that counselors and advisors are knowledgeable of campus and urban situations; they must also be aware of the Native students' home environment and the developments and rapid changes that are taking place there. Further, they must be capable of giving practical advice, in a manner that is authoritative and yet not condescending.[91] The new Native student on campus is similar to most new students in many respects: he is overwhelmed, at first, with the strange world that he has recently entered. In that sense, he is deserving of all of the general assistance that adults are normally capable of providing. However, there are instances when the Native student is in need of special help and consideration because of his special background and extraordinary circumstances. At that point, the institution should be capable of providing the extra necessary assistance that the situation calls for.

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[89] The word "training" is used deliberately here because that is the way it is viewed. Even among highly literate Native families, college students are sometimes teased about how "dumb" they are because they need so many years of "training" just to "get smart."

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[90] Alaska Federation of Natives, Committee on Higher Education, "Position Paper and Recommendations," (Anchorage: By the Author, May 16, 1972), p. 2.

Beginning in 1969, the University of Alaska at Fairbanks established a Student Orientation Services program (generally known by the acronym "SOS") to provide special assistance and guidance for freshman and sophomore Native students at that campus. In a 1971 progress report, the program director found that such students generally fell into three categories which he described as follows:

1) Highly motivated and academically prepared students who seem to adapt relatively easily to college life. Typically, these students are coming from the rural parochial schools or the larger high schools in Anchorage, Fairbanks and Juneau. These students may require some initial assistance in academic advisement and some

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[91] It has been this writer's experience that the majority of Native students are capable of ascertaining very quickly the levels of competency that their counselors possess. They are also adept at playing the role of "dumb Indian" or "dumb Eskimo" when occasion warrants, in order to manipulate their adversary.

experience in developmental courses. Generally, they are able to become self sufficient rather quickly. Unfortunately, these students are a small minority.

2) The second small group are the poorly motivated, extremely insecure and academically weak students. In many cases they come to campus, register for class and then only randomly try to be students. Efforts to provide help are frustrating and in most cases futile. The student spends a semester or two on campus and then either leaves of his own accord or is asked to leave. At the present time there is no official mechanism for dealing with this student during his first semester. Legally, he can remain in the dorm and ignore the concern of his counselor, instructors and friends (this is not true for a technical associate degree student, who can be terminated at any time).

3) The third and largest group are those students who genuinely desire to improve themselves by attending college but who are handicapped in one way or another. These students respond to assistance but in many cases too many things interfere with the effectiveness of this help. Typically the student has attended a school system where little academic achievement was expected of him. He has been conditioned to function at only a fraction of his capacity. His habits have been well set before he arrives. Besides having a weak academic background he has poor study habits; he has been used to physically attending class but rarely has he done any creative learning. Far too many of the high schools only teach "at" the student. Little is required of the student in these high schools. Thus, he is not only coming to the University with a poorly developed collection of intellectual tools (he still has the same good intellectual potential), but also comes with these very maladaptive habit patterns toward learning. This student not only needs support through the red tape frustration of college but also must be helped in developing a variety of skills and must be provided an atmosphere when academic attitudes and habits can be significantly changed. This can not take place through just counseling and tutoring. The majority of the students served by SOS fall in this category. Here is where the challenge lies and a totally effective program must be focussed more effectively on

these students.[92]

The report further noted that because of their cultural and educational backgrounds, "the admissions criteria for the College campus do not fit the educational realities of the Alaskan native."[93] One of the major problems with admissions was that the usual method of accepting or rejecting applicants on the basis of their high school grades did not often apply to Natives because "bush schools in Alaska vary so much in grading practices as well as quality. . . ."[94] That observation is serious and is one that many educators in higher education often complain about. It appears that some teachers of Native children, through a false sense of benign paternalism, do not prepare the children seriously for higher levels of intellectual achievement, but pass them on without sufficient training simply because the students are Native. If the process continues over a lengthy period, such pupils may be seriously crippled when they or their parents aspire to higher academic training. That situation, of course, is not unique to Alaska--it is a problem that plagues admissions officers and professors in other places as well--but it is more widespread in the rural regions of Alaska and is one that is commonly noted by educators who are familiar with the rural school system in the State. The report spelled out the problem more specifically in the following manner:

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[92] University of Alaska, Progress Report for Student Orientation Services Program, (Fairbanks: Dept. of Student Affairs, Dec. 1971), pp. 5-6. (Hereinafter cited as "SOS Progress Report.")

[93] Ibid., p. 40.

[94] Ibid.

> Schools with college preparatory programs and those in which the teaching staff have high academic expectations for their students produce students with some viable skills. One can make some fairly sound predictions about the students' academic success based upon these grades. But other schools, having high teacher turnover, ill-defined educational goals for the students and equally poor expectations of the students produce another situation. After a while a tradition is created in which school is held, the students attend, and grades are handed out. Sadly, the grades may not have a positive correlation with quality or quantity of learnings. But by present admissions criteria, the student in this situation may also be accepted or rejected on this basis.[95]

A second study, written as one result of a pilot program conducted during the summers of 1963 to 1967 for pre-college Alaska Native students, confirms most of the above findings. Lee Salisbury, the author of that study, cautioned that surface observations of Alaska Native students might be deceiving to those who are prone to stereotypes:

> The educational, social, and cultural backgrounds of these students vary. Percentage of mixed blood is no index of acculturation: one junior student, a pure-blooded Eskimo, and a graduate of an Anchorage high school, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlinghetti with no trace of an accent. He stands in striking contrast to a blonde, blue-eyed, fair-skinned part-Aleut girl from King Cove who speaks with the characteristic Native intonation and who mixes only with other Native students.[96]

Salisbury's study found that, in general, the Alaska Native college-bound student could be described as one who will have difficulty in the use of the English language, will tend to be non-assertive and non-competitive, is prone to a fatalistic view of his circumstances, has difficulty in dealing with abstractions, is not oriented to rigid time schedules, and welcomes periods of silence that whites find distracting.[97] (The use of English, both in the oral and written form, is possibly the greatest barrier to academic success for Natives. Generally, Native people are raised in a non-literate but highly verbal milieu and find that "paper-work" that is so essential to the functioning of the non-Native society does not hold a very high priority with them. The English that is learned in the villages is of the common variety, passed on by transient white workers, traders and miners. University work requires an almost completely different English vocabulary, especially in the written form. For the Native who thinks he has already learned English, the transition to the new form required on campus is doubly difficult.[98]) In reviewing the freshman Native student's difficulties with communication in the new environment, the study further commented that:

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[95] University of Alaska, SOS Progress Report, p. 15.

[96] Salisbury, COPAN, p. 1.

> a. All Native students, despite early childhood reinforcement for reticence, have strong pressures to communicate their thoughts and feelings to others.
> b. Communication is meaningful when it deals with issues, problems, and concerns that are personally relevant to the student.
> c. Specific communication skills can be taught when the student is ready for them: vis., after he has something to communicate.
> d. Improved ability to communicate with honesty and directness

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[97] Salisbury, COPAN, pp. 14-21.

[98] The observation is that of the writer of the present study, based on some 10 years of teaching in the elementary, secondary and college areas in Alaska. The use of "College English as a third language" is an area ripe for potential study.

> is accompanied by a significant and observable improvement in self-concept and confidence.[99]

Salisbury also found that, on the question of admissions, urban Native students differed from rural Native students in that the urban student typically had a low high school grade point average but was able to perform rather well on the American College Test (ACT), whereas the rural student often entered with a high grade point average but accumulated very low scores on the American College Test.[100] He attributed the disparity to the urban experiences available to the city youth, as against those from villages, and that the high rural grade point averages were a result of the process described above.

Other components of the Native student's profile are statistical in nature, and are described in the Tables and Figures. For example, he is likely to be an Eskimo from the Southwest and Northwest regions of the State (Table 4). As such, he most likely has had very little exposure to white society (Figure 4). His parents and relatives may be either illiterate or have barely attained a third grade level (Table 7), and they probably have one of the lowest per capita incomes in the United States (Table 5). (Again, since these descriptions are for purposes of creating a general profile, the data does not apply in individual cases.)

Further subjective descriptions, unsubstantiated in the literature but observable on the practical level nevertheless, would add that the

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[99] Salisbury, COPAN, pp. 82-83.

[100] Ibid., pp. 81-82.

Native student has very close ties with friends and relatives from his home village, is most comfortable with close "buddies" that he has acquired either at home or on the campus and considers much of the college experience a "lark" that has very little meaning to the adults at home; he has had early exposure to sexual activities, but hardly any training, except of a negative type, in the social use of alcoholic beverages. He is most easily "reached" through his friends, or by the light-hearted give-and-take of jocular teasing. And although he is very likely the first of his family to be on campus, and therefore has no previous frame-of-reference to guide him, he is capable of providing a further dimension in the institution's search for knowledge, just as foreign students are on other campuses.

Special Institutional Programs

The discussion below deals with three "special" programs that have been developed recently in Alaska in an attempt to aid the Alaska Native peoples in their efforts to achieve self-determination by providing them with a continuing flow of intellectual and professional leadership. The programs, in order, are the Student Orientation Services, Alaskan Students Higher Education Services, and the Center for Northern Education. There are possibly other similar programs in Alaska, but the following have been the most effective to date and hold out the most promise for potential and significant contribution to Alaska Natives in higher education.

Student Orientation Services

Recognizing the special needs of Alaska Native students, the 1955 Territorial Legislature passed an act (140 SLA 1955) that authorized the University of Alaska to provide scholarship assistance in the form of free board and room for not more than ten Natives per year. In 1968, a more general and generous scholarship grant and loan fund (112 SLA 1968) was created for all students attending the public university and the 1955 Act was repealed. The following year, however, the State Legislature again took note of the Native condition and forwarded House Concurrent Resolution No. 56 which instructed the University of Alaska to develop and institute a plan that would assist Native students in the area of higher education.[101]

Prior to 1969, the experiment with the pilot summer projects known as "COPAN" (College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives), provided certain conclusions that could be summed up as follows:

> The period of highest Native student dropout occurs, typically, during the freshman year. If social and academic supports, such as COPAN has provided, were available to students who needed them during this crucial period, the attrition rate would decrease.[102]

The University then instituted the previously mentioned Student Orientation Services (SOS) program by providing a counselor and half-time secretary who were funded by donations from three oil companies.[103]

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[101] University of Alaska, SOS Progress Report, p. 2.

[102] Salisbury, COPAN, p. 84.

[103] University of Alaska, SOS Progress Report, p. 2.

A Native student advisory board was formed to provide policy guidelines and to act as a liaison with the Native student community. By December, 1971, the program was operating with three full-time and five part-time (student) counselors[104] and was in a position to issue a progress report that indicated some successes and a few failures.

Generally, "The counseling services affected through SOS are in most cases centered around here-and-now problems the student might have. Some students do seek rather continued advice and assistance on continuing problems but for the most part the student is seeking solutions for immediate difficulties."[105] Many of the problems were of a bureaucratic or "redtape" nature, but a substantial number resulted from the academic requirements or expectancies of the institution and its faculty. The report noted that one difficulty in counseling the students was that the counselor was sometimes not aware of academic problems: "A student can fall helplessly behind while at the same time during informal contacts with his counselors appear to be having no problems."[106] A tutorial service was provided whereby student tutors were paid out of the program budget. The results were less than satisfactory, however, because "Many times it was found the tutor's motivation was strictly monetary and he viewed S.O.S. as a soft touch."[107] The service was temporarily abandoned and a part-time tutorial coordinator was hired to research such programs and to develop a new service.

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[104] University of Alaska, SOS Progress Report, p. 6.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., p. 7.

[107] Ibid., p. 9.

In the academic areas, the problems encountered were basically similar to those described by the English department. Most of the students had difficulty with word usage, were not trained to study independently, and lacked motivation and insight into existing problems. The Department summed up their concern in the following manner:

> Superficially, the problems listed here as pertinent to the target group appear identical with those of a great majority of college freshmen. Qualitatively, this is probably quite true. However, the difference in degree of severity is enormous. While the "average" freshman may become discouraged, or even depressed by his first brush with the realities of essay exams, large classes, and library papers, he typically gets by. The problems facing the rural Alaskan Native student, however, are severe enough to prevent him from doing assignments or handing in papers, and finally from going to class at all without constant urging and encouragement. The results of such problems, unsolved, are well recorded in the University files.[108]

The greatest success encountered was that of the application of a joint program whereby professors of English conducted freshman level classes in conjunction with those in biology and history. The report indicates that students' grades stabilized, and in some cases improved, in all three areas during the experiment. A common complaint, however, was again voiced by the English Department, and that had to do with a lack of innovative materials for the classes:

> It is urgent that materials be collected, organized, and written for our reading and writing courses. Existing materials, designed for foreign students and urban minorities do not meet the needs of the multi-dialect, native speaker of

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[108] University of Alaska, SOS Progress Report, p. 15.

> English, from rural Alaska. The need here is for college level materials which are relevant to the experience and realistic goals of U of A students. Much of the subject matter is available in the reports of anthropologists and in the news media, but it needs to be made into lesson form. Such work requires time.[109]

In mathematics, similar problems existed as those described above, except that Native students scored extremely low in tests when compared to the general freshman class on campus.[110] Again, this was attributed to inferior preparation of Native students in the high schools for academic pursuits. An instructor with seven years experience in cross-cultural teaching was assigned to the special mathematics program and reported considerable success, according to test results, with the new program that had been developed in fall semester, 1971.[111]

Alaska Student Higher Education Services

As a result of the overall successes achieved by the University of Alaska's Student Orientation Services, similar special service components were initiated at the other institutions in the State. In July, 1971, the Alaska Student Higher Education Services (ASHES) was organized and funded by a federal grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to coordinate all special services programs at the University of Alaska, Sheldon Jackson College, and Alaska Methodist

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[109] Ibid., p. 19. (Emphasis in the original.) (For additional information concerning the English program, see Appendix IV.)

[110] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[111] Ibid., p. 37.

University.[112] In addition, the organization was to unify the operations of Upward Bound (a post-high school summer program) and Educational Talent Search (a statewide college recruiting service).[113] During the first year of operation the program, although under the auspices of the Alaska Federation of Natives, remained a quasi-independent unit of that organization and was guided by a board that met intermittently. During the second year, i.e., 1972, the Federation tightened its control through new board appointments and closer budgetary analyses.

The goals of the Alaskan Students Higher Education Services were listed as those that would facilitate

- --Orientation, by field recruiting and on-campus seminars.
- --Counseling on academic and personal matters of concern to students.
- --Tutorial support services.
- --Curriculum development by providing "multi-cultural and community relevant materials."
- --Institutional change by suggesting reforms "to make higher education relevant to the needs of the Alaska Natives."[114]

A statewide director was hired along with project coordinators and assistants at the campuses, and part-time community representatives. Although considerable success has been claimed for the program,[115] no objective evaluation of the organization's operations was available at this writing.

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[112] Alaska Federation of Natives, Alaska Student Higher Education Services, Anchorage, letter dated March 21, 1973.

[113] Alaska Federation of Natives, Alaska Student Higher Education Services, "1972-73 Proposal Narrative," (Anchorage: By the Author, February 15, 1972), p. 14. (Hereinafter cited as "ASHES Proposal.")

[114] Alaska Federation of Natives, ASHES Proposal, pp. 27-28.

[115] Alaska Federation of Natives, ASHES letter, dated March 21, 1973.

The Center for Northern Education

The University of Alaska Board of Regents, on February 18, 1971, adopted a resolution that established a Center for Northern Education at Fairbanks under the responsibility of the Vice President for Research and Advanced Study.[116] While the center was structured along the lines of the University's other institutes, and was designed to carry out research projects and publish such findings, it also was provided with the flexibility to develop and field test curricula, programs and instructional materials in cooperation with the Alaska State Department of Education, the Alaska Federation of Natives and the various Native regional organizations.

The Center for Northern Education was originally funded by a Ford Foundation grant,[117] and as it became more firmly established, it was able to draw grants from federal agencies and appropriations from the State. Founded on a base broad enough to include all types of educational phenomena unique to Northern lands, and not exclusively to the Alaska Natives, the purposes of the Center were to be:

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[116] University of Alaska, Board of Regents, "Resolution Concerning the Establishment of a Center for Northern Education," (Fairbanks: By the Author, February 18, 1971).

[117] Frank Darnell, Center for Northern Education, (Fairbanks: University of Alaska, Research and Advanced Study Council, February, 1971), p. 107.

1. the identification, ordering, and promotion of promising means for improved educational programs;
2. the design of research projects appropriate to new educational concepts and an investigation of their previously unknown influences;
3. the development of demonstration projects and field tests of new concepts;
4. to render assistance to operating agencies to implement newly developed programs;
5. to provide the platform from which the Native population may join with the "educational establishment" and governmental agencies in the development of cross-cultural educational programs.[118]

While some of the purposes may appear possibly to overlap those of other University institutes or State agencies, such is not the case, for "the center would hope to assume leadership in the long-range, coordinated educational planning now lacking in public education in Alaska."[119] Because of the nature of the State of Alaska--the great distances between centers of human habitation, a total population of just over 300,000, the relatively primitive communications network--and because the public university system itself has problems of communication between the quasi-independent branches and community colleges, there is a tendency for State agencies, school systems and higher educational units to develop independently, and often replicate, esoteric projects unbeknownst to each other. High costs, non-professional research procedures and the lack of hard, pertinent data often result in mediocre outputs or the total failure of projects. The Center should be in a position to alleviate that problem because it is charged with the following tasks:

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[118] _Ibid_., p. 97.

[119] _Ibid_.

1. Development of data collection and storage systems utilizing modern methods of electronic data processing to keep local agencies apprised of short and long-range trends in Alaska's education systems.
2. Development and refinement of teacher-training methods to prepare faculties for Alaska's multicultural environment with special attention to recruitment and training of Alaskan Natives as teachers.
3. Exploration of the place, scope, and impact of early childhood education for Alaskans and schemes for implementation into early childhood education programs.
4. Exploration of the problems attendant to the design of Special Education programs for physically and emotionally handicapped children of the North with particular emphasis on the cross-cultural implications associated with the development of instruments to identify potential candidates for Special Education.
5. Development of adequate means to train school board members in Alaska's rural areas, especially in areas where local control has been perturbed because of paternalistic governmental policies so that Alaskan Natives may assume the primary policy-making role in the operation of their own schools.
6. Development of "Native studies" curricula for Alaska's larger city schools as well as village schools.
7. Development of substantive educational programs (software) soon to be required for telecasting by satellite relayed educational television networks under development throughout rural and urban Alaska.
8. Development of lines of communication to exchange education research and development with agencies in other circumpolar nations facing common problems of multicultural education.
9. Development of basic instructional strategies and curriculum materials identified to be appropriate to the Northern environment.
10. Publication and dissemination of research findings to the maximum benefit of operational agencies responsible for education in the North.[120]

The establishment of the Center for Northern Education marks, perhaps, a turning point in the long, sometimes frustrating history of the process of education in Alaska as it has been applied to the Alaska Native peoples. For if the Center succeeds in coordinating, professionalizing and analyzing the projects and studies of an educational nature that are aimed at the Native sector of the State, and if it is able to exert an influence over the type of data collected for such studies, then it will have provided the means by which many of the problems mentioned in the present study may ultimately be resolved. Higher education in Alaska as it is presently constituted has many weaknesses and strengths that are not known or understood by those who directly participate in the process. That situation is magnified many times when the Native peoples attempt to participate. The mechanisms that have been developed in Alaska in recent years for coordinating the higher educational efforts--such as the statewide, unitary, public higher education system, and the inter-institutional consortia--should be utilized to the fullest extent possible in turning identifiable problems into opportunities. That situation appears to exist at the present time, for in the Center of Northern Education's words,

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[120] Darnell, Center for Northern Education, pp. 99-100.

> The ultimate function of the Center may be to act as the catalyst to bring about the long-sought aggregate of interdepartmental University influences, interagency governmental operations, and interethnic Alaska Native forces, essential for improved coordinated, educational programs.[121]

A Higher Educational Needs Assessment for Alaska Natives

The "needs" of a people, of course, cannot be imputed with precision by those who are not of that people. Nor can they be determined until they are "felt" or perceived as such. H. G. Barnett, in fact, argued that the word "need" has been overused and much-abused; and he cautioned that the concept of need can only apply to the individual:

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[121] Darnell, Center for Northern Education, p. 100.

> It becomes quite meaningless when it is applied to a group of people, as it usually is. It loses whatever validity it may have when it is said that necessity is the mother of invention, or that airplanes were not invented until they were needed, or that people in backward areas of the world need the advantages of an industrial economy. Such judgments are ex post facto, evaluative, and ethnocentric. They presume that wants are supraindividual and inherent in social systems, that one aspect of culture requires something else for its balance, support, or completion. The truth is that a group of people that we call a society needs nothing, because it is not an organism. It has no desires, because it is an abstraction; and it has no lacks, except by gratuitous comparisons with other societies. American family life needs greater binding forces only because a condition can be conceived by someone in which it might profit by them; the Hottentots need sewing machines only because we have them, and we need them only because we have become accustomed to them. Needs, in short, are relative to time and place and are highly particularistic.[122]

Barnett preferred the word "wants" and saw such wants as perceptions that were learned in some manner and internalized as "self-wants."[123] In that sense, the perceived wants could be generalized from individuals to a group through the process of human interaction. What one felt to be good or necessary could be viewed in a like manner by his associates. In fact, that is exactly what takes place in family gatherings, board meetings and legislative chambers.

Because of the general, popular usage of the word "needs" to describe such wants, it will be used in the following discussion with the understanding that the needs as indicated are those that are felt to be desired by the people through their leaders or spokesmen. The "needs assessment" as used here, then, is an appraisal or evaluation of those components of higher education in Alaska thought to be of significant value to the Native peoples. The items listed are presented in a general order of priority, but such an ordering should not be considered to be rigid by the reader.[124]

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[122] H. G. Barnett, Innovation: The Basis for Cultural Change, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953), p. 98.

[123] Ibid., pp. 98-114.

1. Possibly the most persistent of needs expressed by most Natives who concern themselves with educational questions is that of the duality of the training they see as a necessary prerequisite to their survival as a people. The simple statement, "He should be trained for the bush as well as the city," is heard most often in such discussions and focuses on the problem directly. Higher education and other levels of education that do not provide for that need never will be considered to be a worthwhile effort by a majority of the people. If a young person's intellectual development, or skills learned through college training, require him to leave home, permanently, and contribute to someone else's society then the adults in the home society have very little incentive

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[124] The list was conceived from the materials as indicated in the footnotes and from the writer's notes gathered over a three-year period. No all-Native conference on education has ever been organized in Alaska, and is one of the more essential needs felt by this writer. If such a conference is ever called, it should only follow adequate preliminary discussions at the village and regional levels.

to encourage their youth to take that path.[125] The people themselves do not pretend to know how such a task should be accomplished--they leave that to the "professionals." Also included in such thinking is the realization that the education of their young must be of the highest quality possible. Many have been exposed to less than quality training and they resent it in later life when it is found that they were not as competent as they were led to believe.

2. There is a strong desire for local control of educational matters.[126] Local control grows naturally out of the concept of self-determination and the settlement of the land claims issue that resulted in an "awakening" of the Native peoples in regard to their abilities at least in the political arena. The cumulative effect of the educational process in the past, despite certain defects in that process, has added to the peoples' self-confidence. Furthermore, they presently see their capabilities as being quite unique--they feel proud of their past histories, that their cultures remain largely intact, that they have retained the bulk of their homelands, and that they have survived as a

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[125] American higher education itself has a history of adaptation to the felt needs of the home society. Following the Revolution, private higher schools (e.g., academies) were expanded or established to train the young in "American" rather than European ways. After the Civil War, during the country's period of agricultural-orientation, land-grant institutions were developed to satisfy that need. Post-1918 America desired businessmen and technicians; and following the Russian Sputnik, scientists were trained on a large scale.

[126] Alaska Federation of Natives, ASHES letter, dated March 21, 1973 (attachment titled "Questions and Answers on Rural Alaskan Education," p. 4).

people in the face of sometimes intolerable odds. A significant attitudinal change has taken place among the Native population from the past when it was widely believed that only outside, white experts could solve their problems. In contrast, the recent feeling is that they know best what is good for themselves because they know themselves best--and they know their land. The idea is often expressed, especially by the young, that "We can do anything they can . . . better, because this is our country." Local control means full governmental autonomy within the framework of laws and regulations of the State and nation that is enjoyed by other communities. That includes village and borough government and independent school boards. Local control of the full range of the educational system is contemplated, from kindergarten through high school to community colleges, when such are established.

3. The professional skills that are necessary to operate regional corporations, local governments and school districts successfully, are a great concern to the present Native leaders. While the bulk of Native college students are training to be teachers,[127] and there is a recognized present need for Native teachers, other skills are felt to be as necessary. For example, there is a fear, sometimes approaching crisis proportions, that if the Native peoples do not have their own people trained as social planners, in banking, accounting, business administration, the law, engineering, and medicine, they may very well

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[127] Alaska Federation of Natives, ASHES letter, dated March 21, 1973.

lose all of the potential benefits of the land claims settlement. Even in the field of education, it is now widely recognized that the higher master and doctoral degrees are necessary for the well-being of a quality school system. Other higher educational skills, such as technicians and programmers, are also identified as essential components to a viable community structure. Again, the higher educational institutions must concern themselves to their fullest capacities in such areas because they are responsible, in large part, to the well-being of the total State society.

4. On a related though different level, there is a growing concern over the dearth of leaders other than those in politics. Without identifiable Native philosophers, historians, poets, and writers to interpret their cultures, the Native peoples remain dependent on outsiders to perform those intellectual tasks. The danger in that is that there is sometimes as much misinterpretation of the realities of the Native ethos as there is valid explanation. Every so often, especially on the campuses, one will hear a Native state with resignation, "I wish we had philosophers (or psychologists, or authors) to quote." As in other dynamic societies, there is a need for Native intellectual leadership. A few of the Native people are beginning to recognize that need.

5. While the University of Alaska has expanded its physical facilities and extended its branches and community college system, most of that activity has taken place in the white-dominated, urban centers in the southern part of the State. The question that will be asked

more and more regularly in the immediate future is that of extending the higher educational system into the northern and western, largely Native, regions of the State.[128] While a community college has been recently established at Bethel, that alone will not satisfy the demands that higher education be available in some form closer to the Native's home regions. A recent recommendation[129] stated that such schools should be established at Ft. Yukon, Barrow, Nome, Unalakleet, Kotzebue, and Dillingham. The argument that those small centers could not support a community college operation does not prevail when Sitka has two institutions of higher learning (Sitka Community College and Sheldon Jackson College). Furthermore, the fact that the University of Alaska had its genesis in what was then, a small out-of-the-way town and opened with six students and six instructors, must label that reasoning as unsound. The University of Alaska should even be planning ahead to the day when it will establish a branch in a region north and west of Fairbanks, just as it has in other areas of the State.

6. The Native people believe that institutions of higher learning must continue to support and further develop the special programs that they have established to aid Native students on their campuses. Innovative techniques, both in the academic and guidance areas, should be encouraged and supported by the administrations. The institutions

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[128] Alaska Federation of Natives, Committee on Higher Education, "Position Paper and Recommendations," (Anchorage: By the Author, May 16, 1972), p. 3.

[129] *Ibid.*

should make stronger efforts to recruit youngsters from the bush regions to their campuses. At the same time, they must develop a means of communicating with the students' families in order to help them initially and to keep them informed later.

7. Money, which is generally thought to be of most concern to the Native students, ranks below the other needs because the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State Legislature and Government, and the institutions of higher learning in the State, have all devised generous financial aid programs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has relaxed its formerly rigid requirements in recent years, and the State Legislature has continued to appropriate funds for the various loan and grant programs that it had established over the years. There continue to be cases where students have financial difficulties on the campuses, but the resources available to the institutions at the present time are most often adequate to handle such emergencies. The one area of financial aids that deserves further research and time, is that of a "full-package guarantee" prior to the Native student's commitment to a given campus. A system should be constructed whereby all moneys needed by the student to complete his term or year should be covered by a combination of parental funds, governmental grants, loans, scholarships, and other aids. In addition, the financial aids system should be maintained at its present level or extended where necessary. Legislators should be apprised of the situation on a cintinuing basis.

8. On-campus Native studies programs or ethnic-oriented studies

do not appear higher on the list, perhaps, because not only are the other items felt to be more crucial, but if, for instance, local control of the schools is obtained then a proper foundation of Native history and culture will have been absorbed by the young prior to their college years. A further concern when ethnic or Native studies is discussed is summed up by the question, "Who's going to teach it?" For there is a fear that a false culture will develop if misinformation is passed on to the young; it is thought to be doubly dangerous when clothed by institutional authority. Such mistrust does not merely extend to non-Natives, for it is often viewed as highly presumptuous when a Tlingit or Athabascan attempts to describe Inupiat Eskimo culture to an Inupiat Eskimo. Yet, there remains an undercurrent of ambivalence whenever the question of Native studies is raised. The mistrust described is basically the result of a fear that the "real history" or the "real story" will not be told because of the inadequate factual evidence gathered prior to the presentation. Thus, the mistrust is often qualified by "if." If the material were "real" and relevant, and if it were honestly presented, then a high interest would be created. There is a keen yearning among the Native peoples: they not only want to know more about themselves, but they also want to pass such information on to others. They have a story to tell and advice to give, and they feel that the larger society can learn from them, rather than having it always the other way around. The institutions should continue to develop the Native studies programs that some have launched, but they must be careful to maintain as high a quality as they do in other areas of human knowledge.

There are other critical needs, of course, and the list could be considerably extended. However, most other needs emanate from the eight areas listed above or would in turn be resolved if one or the other desire was satisfied. For example, school board training for each community in rural Alaska is often mentioned as a critical need. But if the rural regions or villages gained control of their school systems, they could provide for that training if they saw fit. Curriculum revision also falls into the same category. Expertise in all areas that touch on village or regional life is a need that is felt to be critical and is expressed in a variety of ways. Several years ago, there was some agitation concerning the establishment of an all-Native university. A Native college student quickly researched the subject and pointed out the problems faced by all-Black institutions in the other states and the State of Alaska's constitutional obligation toward public higher education. That type of educated advice caused the idea of an all-Native institution to wither and Native studies programs at the college level were requested instead. Finally, needs and their order of priority change over time to fit the evolutionary concepts of the people. The list presented above is not meant to be the final word, but only the beginning.

The Future of Alaska Native Higher Education

During the early, formative period of this study, a question was posed to this writer in the following manner: "Is there such a thing as

Native education, or even Native higher education?" Two years hence, and primarily through the research for the study, the answer arrived at is, "Yes." There is Native education because there is Native history and culture. It takes place, whether overtly or covertly, day by day and year by year, and that is how the culture is preserved. There is Native education just as there is French, German, English, Russian, and Chinese education. It is, perhaps, trite to say it, but Frenchmen are not born as such; they learn to fulfill that concept by the teachings of their parents and the institutions of the state. Education is both a method and an essence, a means and an end, and educational questions must be settled by empirical evidence (for means) or on ethical grounds (for ends).[130] The great question in Native Alaska is: "Why must the culture be maintained through hidden, informal, inefficient means?"

Why indeed? Why is it that large numbers of non-Native Alaskans, and other Americans, continue to resist the fact that the American nation is in reality a multi-cultural and poly-ethnic society? That factor alone is one of the nation's greatest strengths and it is enriched, as a result, to a degree almost unique among the nations of the world. Such diversity has provided solutions to a multitude of social, educational, economic, and political problems simply because there are more perceptions applied to the task. Furthermore, the ethnic communities that have more or less preserved themselves intact within the national body, such as the Jewish people, the Armenians, the

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[130] G. Max Wingo, The Philosophy of American Education, (Lexington: D. C. Heath, 1965), pp. 426-433.

Chinese, have made contributions to the general culture of incomparable value. Like the nation of which it is a part, Alaska is multi-cultural and poly-ethnic, and is likely to remain so for some time in the future.

The Alaska Native peoples, who presently account for about twenty percent of the total State population,[131] will continue in the role of Alaska's major, non-white, minority group, according to recent demographic projections.

Table 9 provides a projection into the year 1985 of the Alaska Native population, both in total and by regions. As indicated, there are two types of projections described in the table. The first is based on the assumption that there will be a minimum of intrastate or interregional movement by the Native people; that is, it describes a static situation. The second foresees migratory shifts of the Native population both within the state generally and between regions. Both projections describe extreme cases and should be read in that light; realistically, the actual trend will likely fall between those two extremes. In either case, the implications of the projections for Alaska Native higher education are considerable. Table 8 describes the median age for both the white and non-white Alaskan population. While the data do not go beyond 1960, it will be used here, with caution, because similar statistics based on the 1970 census were not available.

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[131] The exact number of Alaska Natives remains an unanswered question at this writing. Because the 1970 census grouped them witn "Negro and other races," it is most difficult to use those figures. A telephone call to the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Anchorage, June 14, 1973, revealed that recent Native enrollment figures included about 75,000 to 85,000 people. It will require several months to verify those figures.

The table indicates that the Native population is relatively young, and has been for sometime in the past. There is no indication that the trend will be different in the future, but even if it rises slightly by 1985, the portion of that population that is youthful will remain considerable. Thus, combined with the projections to 1985, the higher educational institutions in Alaska can expect an increasing number of Native students on their campuses. This will be even further emphasized as the Native regional corporations provide more incentive for young people to earn professional degrees and technical certificates, and to return to their home areas for employment. If that is the case, then the public university should expect further demands from the northern peoples for the establishment of institutional branches in their areas.

In the short run, the young Native men and women who do not hold college degrees but are employed in areas that do not presently require higher training will be able to contribute their talents fully to the society. However, as the trends described above indicate, a continually increasing, university-trained pool of young Natives will be a possibility in the future. Those who do not upgrade their skills by taking diplomas or degrees to meet such employment requirements, whether for Native or non-Native corporations and governmental units, will face strong employment competition as the years go by. Even at this date, a surprisingly large number of Native people are attending colleges, both in Alaska and in the other states. Recent figures indicate that slightly over 1,000 such students are on campuses throughout the nation[132] and they are acquiring skills of every description that are required in the social spectrum. If even fifty percent of those now attending higher educational institutions return to their home regions within the next four years, the impact will be of unprecedented proportions.

By 1985, it is hoped, the problems described in this study will have become mere footnotes in the pages of the Alaska Native peoples' history, and of concern only to scholars who care to look back, now and then, to obtain an objective view of the present. It should be clear, at this point, that the writer holds a rather positive view of the future trend of Alaska higher education as it pertains to the Native peoples. However, he holds that view with the proviso that the people of the State, both Native and non-Native must work in close association to ensure that the educational gap that exists between them does not widen but in fact closes. Only then will the larger society of the State begin to function in harmony and the culture be enriched by its components.

Chapter VI will summarize and conclude the study, but before turning to that, the reader is invited to contemplate the following poem. It was written around the year 1930, by an eighth grade Eskimo boy who was attending school at White Mountain, in Northwest Alaska. Aside from the bird of the title, the boy has captured the ethos of his people and their land. To anyone who has dwelt for long periods in the bush regions of Alaska, such is easily recognizable. One cannot help but wonder, though, if that young person, upon reaching manhood, was able to apply those talents more widely and contribute to the cultural enrichment of his people.

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[132] Alaska Federation of Natives, ASHES letter dated March 21, 1973. (That figure was not verifiable when the present study was written.)

THE LOON

Spirit of Wilderness--
Song of Desolation--
Rover of the Deep--
Spirit of Loneliness--
Thy mournful cry I hear.

Through the still air,
When the day is dying
In the western sky;
Thy monotonous cry
Sounds long and drear.

When dawn streaks the east,
And my dreaming eyes
Are scarcely awake,
Still I hear thy cry
Through the murm'ring sky.

Child of the Desolate Lands--
Rover of the wildest Strands--
Thy cry of distress can dart
Cold chills through the
stoutest heart.[133]

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[133] Anderson and Eells, p. 369. (The young poet's name was not supplied.)

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The Geography and Native Peoples of Alaska

Alaska was described as a vast and sprawling state in the extreme northwest of North America. For descriptive convenience, and for purposes of this study, the following regions, or geographic divisions, of the State were identified: the Southwest (including the Aleutian Islands), the Northwest, the North Slope, the Interior, Southcentral, and Southeast Alaska (see Figure 1). Each of the regions reflects a different climatic, topographical and biotic condition that influenced the life patterns of the Native peoples in their past.

The Native, or aboriginal, peoples had developed patterns of society and culture that were adapted to the environment of the particular region that they inhabited. Such cultures had developed over a considerable period of time, and were firmly established by the time of the first European contacts in 1741.

The Alaska Native peoples, constituting four culturally related groups, occupied certain geographical homelands as follows:

The Aleuts: that portion of Southwest Alaska that includes the Alaska Peninsula west of Port Heiden, and the chain of islands known as the Aleutians (see Figure 2).

The Tlingits, Haidas, and Tsimshians: all of Southeast Alaska between Yakutat and Ketchikan, except that the Haidas were largely confined to the southern tip of Prince of Wales Island and the Tsimshians to Annette Island.

The Eskimos: the coastal portions of Southcentral Alaska, and nearly all of the non-Aleut Southwest, the Northwest, and the North Slope.

The Athabascans: the whole of the Interior, Cook Inlet, and the Copper River valley to the sea.

Cultural differences between the Native peoples were emphasized by the linguistic differences among them. The Eskimos were divided into two major language stocks (Yupik and Inupik) which were in turn subdivided into dialects. The Athabascan language family in Alaska contained some twelve to fourteen distinct dialects. Tlingits, Haidas and Tsimshians, though sharing a Northwest Coast "totem" culture, spoke languages mutually unintelligible to each other.

Following the Russian dominion over Alaska (1741-1867) and the transfer to American jurisdiction in 1867, the Native peoples survived several periods of cultural change that resulted, to a greater or lesser degree, in their adaptation to forms of European-American culture. The Russians and Americans, in turn, apparently did not recognize the differences among the Native peoples, as outlined above, but treated them according to their experiences with aboriginal tribes in Siberia and continental North America.

The Impact of Formal Education

Change among the Native peoples of Alaska was at first informal in the sense that their confrontations with Western culture were largely through contacts with traders, soldiers, missionaries, and miners. Portions of the new culture, such as weapons, food, clothing, were tested and adopted more or less according to individual whim. Gradually, though, novel institutions were also adopted (e.g., religion), and change became less a matter of personal choice than of familial or societal obligation. Central to the changes faced by the Natives after 1867 was that of formal education.

For convenience, the periods of Native exposure to formal education may be discussed in the following chronological manner:

1741-1867: The Russian period, although brutal in its early impact on certain of the Native peoples (e.g., the Aleuts and the Kodiak Eskimos), resulted in an eventual "Russification" of those Natives under their direct control. Mission schools of the Russian Orthodox Church were primarily maintained for Russian nationals and those Natives who had adopted Russian ways. However, a considerable effort was made to bring the Natives into the embrace of the Church, and the Orthodoxy prevalent among many Natives today bears witness to the successes of that effort. On the other hand, Natives outside the sphere of Russian hegemony were little touched by such missionary activities.

1867-1884: The transfer of jurisdiction over Alaska to the United States was at first followed by a period of official neglect on the part of the government in Washington, D.C. In time, missionary expansion into the region, primarily by American Protestant sects, led to the establishment of the first American schools among the Native peoples.

Such activities were centered in Southeast Alaska, in the beginning, and it was there that cultural changes due to formal education took earliest root. While missions were also established in the other regions, their numbers were few and their influences slight at that time.

1884-1917: With the promulgation of the first Organic Act of 1884, which provided a form of civil government for Alaska, the U.S. Congress included a mechanism and funds for the initiation of a public school system. The government provided the physical facilities for schools in certain districts throughout Alaska and permitted the missionary societies to staff those schools. Schools proliferated throughout the Native homelands during this period, and the impact of formal education became widespread.

The gold strikes that began during the early years of that era, first in Southeast Alaska and then culminating in the great Gold Rush of 1898 to the Klondike in Canada's Yukon, brought change on a massive scale to Alaska as thousands of "stampeders" swarmed across the land. The establishment of white communities resulting from the gold rushes led to agitation for locally controlled, non-federal school systems in those towns. In 1900, Congress permitted such schools, and in 1905 it passed the Nelson Act which provided for schools in non-Native communities and districts.

1917-1960: Following a second Organic Act in 1912, which provided the machinery for Alaska Territorial government, the Territory of Alaska enacted a basic school law which recognized the existence of a "two-school system": one for Natives and one for whites. Natives were to attend the federal government schools while non-Natives received, what was then considered, superior schooling in the white district or Territorial schools. Some Native parents, who believed that the white schools were "better" than the "government" or Native schools, connived to have their children placed in such schools. Considerable behavior of a deviant nature ensued as certain Native parents rejected their people in order to "be white" for their children's sake. The segregated district systems sometimes set arbitrary standards concerning who was or was not Native or leading a "civilized life."

The curricular content of the school programs in the Native districts, during that time, indicate generally low expectations on the part of administrators and teachers toward the students and the application of unimaginative courses and methods within the schools. Native students were exposed to the "three R's" and certain mechanical and applied arts, but seldom to intellectual challenges in preparation for possible higher educational academic work.

Despite the problems relating to educational quality during that era, the quantity of change among the Native peoples accelerated as indicated by the rising literacy rates. Moreover, the schools in Alaska--both federal and Territorial--did provide an educational base for the further cultural development of the Native peoples.

1960-1972: Serious efforts were made following 1960, by federal and State officials, to dismantle the segregated, "two-school" system. Alaska statehood transitional problems, primarily those related to money, slowed that process, however, and remnants of the system remained intact as late as 1972. On the other hand, more Native students than ever were attending non-federal, district or State schools by that date. Such a factor induced further changes among the Natives and also within the curricula of those schools.

During the 1960's, it became popular to devise "innovative" approaches toward solving "minority" educational problems. Although many such programs failed to accomplish their objectives, others succeeded and became influential within the general curricula. Formal education, thus, not only provided channels for change among the Native peoples, but was itself changing.

Politics and Change

While containing elements relating to economics, history, and sociology, two largely political issues were settled by the efforts of the Alaskan people by 1972. Those two issues were: statehood for Alaska, and the settlement of Native land claims.

Statehood, reflected in the desire by Alaskans for self-determination and equality with the other peoples of the federal Union, was achieved in 1958 following a political struggle that spanned nearly half a century. But because that movement largely bypassed the Native peoples and, in fact, resulted in a perceived threat to their lands due to provisions of the Statehood Act, a second movement for self-determination by the Native peoples was "triggered."

The claims of the aboriginal peoples of Alaska to their lands was historically recognized by Congress following the Treaty of Purchase with Russia in 1867. Such claims were not acted on, however, until they became the center of political controversy not unlike that of the statehood movement. Agitation for a land claims settlement evolved over a long period, and involved a wide spectrum of concerned people. The Alaska Native Brotherhood had been formed in 1912 in response to threats to Tlingit lands and (certain discriminatory practices of that day) and achieved a court settlement with the United States in 1959. That small success, along with the settlement of the statehood issue, caused the other Alaska Native peoples to join together in the Alaska Federation of Natives for purposes of protecting their lands and their ethnic identities. It was the first time in their history that all of the Natives in Alaska were brought together in a confederated body to pursue common goals. One of those goals, the settlement of the land issue, was reached in 1971 when the U.S. Congress enacted the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Through that Act, the Native peoples were provided with title to some forty million acres of land and an award of close to one billion dollars for lands that they would relinquish.

The historic significance of the Native land claims settlement has yet to be determined, but in the political and sociological realm it does indicate a maturity and change in the people and their leadership. It also suggests that a significant change has taken place in their relationship to the general society of Alaska. The Native peoples had organized, and with their own energy and wits had achieved a political settlement that at once provided for their self-determination and endowed them with an economic strength that could assure respect for them in the future. That change is irrevocable, but whether or not such an endowment will be maintained for the benefit of future generations of Native people depends, largely, on their access to and utilization of quality higher education for the development of necessary professional and intellectual skills.

Higher Education

The establishment of the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines at Fairbanks, in 1917, marked the origin of higher education in Alaska. In 1935, by statute, the College was renamed the University of Alaska. Following the passage of the Statehood Act in 1958, the Alaska State Constitutional provision for a unitary, statewide system of public higher education, centered at Fairbanks, became operative. Branches of the University, including community colleges, were later founded by the Board of Regents at other populated centers throughout the State.

Private higher education in Alaska is represented by Sheldon Jackson College at Sitka and Alaska Methodist University at Anchorage. Both were originally affiliated with religious bodies--Sheldon Jackson College with the Presbyterian Church and Alaska Methodist University with the Methodist Church--but in recent years those ties have been gradually loosened and the institutions have evolved into independent, private schools. Both are small colleges, and have had extreme financial difficulties in the past due in part to high overhead and low student enrollment. "Consortium Agreements" with the University of Alaska, beginning in 1972, have permitted both private schools to share facilities and programs with the public institution. The State Legislature passed, in 1972, an act which permitted the public funding of a portion of each student's tuition at the private schools. By those means, the two schools have averted closure and remain an important segment of Alaska higher education.

All three institutions, the University of Alaska, Sheldon Jackson College, and Alaska Methodist University, have developed programs within the last decade aimed at making higher education in Alaska more available and meaningful to Alaska Natives. Such developments include:

> Student Orientation Services (SOS): A program to ease the transition, in both academic and social situations, of Native students on college campuses.
>
> Alaska Student Higher Education Services (ASHES): A recruiting and counseling service organized for the purpose of helping Native students enter the higher educational systems and achieving success once enrolled.
>
> The Center for Northern Education: An arm of the University of Alaska, established for the purposes of conducting research into Native and other northern rural educational matters, and to coordinate such activities between agencies working in that field.

Prior to the 1960's, very little official concern toward the special needs and extraordinary problems confronting Alaska Natives in higher education was evident. During the 1930's, "industrial schools" modeled after those on Indian reservations in the United States were established in Alaska to train promising young Natives in the mechanical and home-making arts. The hope was espoused that such Natives, as adults, would return to their home villages and take on leadership roles.

There is no evidence available that that hope was fulfilled.

While the first Alaska Native graduated from the University of Alaska in 1935, there was not a further significant increase in such graduates until the decade of the 1960's.

Certain major transitional problems faced by Alaska Natives who typically moved from a village-oriented, rural environment to that of the college campus were identified by the higher educational institutions in Alaska. These concerned (1) a lack of preparation for the rigors of university academic work, (2) linguistic difficulties (especially with the formal English required in college level courses), (3) social ignorance (e.g., of the accepted uses of alcohol) and (4) the inadequate development of a realistic frame-of-reference concerning campus life by Native students and their parents.

Such problems, and others, were beginning to be recognized generally by educators in 1972, and solutions in the manner of the special programs outlined above were attempted. The institutions of higher learning in Alaska appear, at this writing, to be cognizant not only of the problems of Natives in higher education, but also of the potential for growth in that sector of future student bodies. The social and economic benefits from the previously mentioned land claims settlement that should accrue to the Native peoples will potentially place more demands on the institutions for the higher education of the Native peoples. In addition, the continuing increase in the numbers of young Natives who will be eligible for higher education (see Tables 8 and 9) will require further expansion in institutional facilities, special programs and academic curricula.

Conclusions

As is usual with studies of this type, it could be written over again in several different ways. Approaches through sociology, political science, psychology, history, law, or economics (all of which were touched on in the present study), would have yielded other evidence and perhaps resulted in different conclusions. At any rate, this study did produce these conclusions:

1. The Alaska Native peoples remain today, as they were in the past, a diverse, multi-ethnic peoples with longer historical traditions than they are commonly given credit for in the written literature. They have maintained much of their culture from the past into the present. Educators should be aware of those factors, and educational programs should be empirically designed to allow for those considerations.

2. The Native peoples have been evolving through periods of cultural change from the time of the first European contact in 1741. Those changes were not evenly distributed among the Native peoples. All changes have accelerated over time and have been both emphasized and made tolerable through the processes of formal education. Such education among the Natives was at first inflexible and modeled after that which was generally prevalent in the continental U.S. Lately, education has been modified in Alaska in attempts to fit the milieu of such culturally different people as the Alaska Native peoples.

3. The Alaska Native land claims movement had the effect of

bringing together, in mutual concert, all of the Native peoples for the first time in their histories. The formation of the Alaska Federation of Natives reflected a pan-Native concern that centered on threats to the Native homelands and "felt" inroads on Native cultural and ethnic identity. The reorganization of the Alaska Federation of Natives and the demise of its former strong, statewide political image resulted from internal ethnic dissension and the receding threats to the land following passage of the Land Claims Act.

4. The settlement of the land claims issue gave the Native peoples a form of self-determination, an identifiable pride in themselves, and an interest in the well-being of each other and Alaska's larger society. In that respect, it was as important to the Native peoples as was the earlier achievement of statehood for the general population of Alaska.

5. The economic and sociological implications of the land claims settlement, added to those cultural changes that had taken place among the Native peoples during preceding periods, will likely place more demands on the resources of the institutions of higher learning in Alaska. High quality vocational-technical and professional skills normally associated with community college and university programs will be needed by the Native peoples as their village and regional corporations expand in scope and function. Intellectual skills, such as those associated with philosophy, history, and the arts, will also be required in order to assure the preservation of viable Native societies.

6. Higher education has steadily expanded in Alaska, but for a number of reasons it has never fulfilled the needs of the people within

9

the Territory or State. That has been especially true for the Native peoples in the past. However, at this writing, higher education in Alaska offers more general advantages to resident Native students, because of its indigenous development, than at any time previously. Programs have been developed in recognition of the special needs of Native students including those concerning their cultural and historical backgrounds, and those centered on societal and cultural transition.

7. The problems of Native students in higher education, as noted by college educators, are generally related to non-material, non-monetary factors at this time. They tend to cluster around such areas as inferior academic preparation, linguistic difficulties, social anomie, and academic goals and objectives. Special programs have been instituted on the campuses accordingly.

8. The needs of Native students, as seen by them, tend also to be non-material and non-monetary at this time, but they appear to cluster around ideas related to the concepts of "self-determination" and "ethnic identity." Such "felt" needs include training that would provide marketable skills for both the bush and the urban centers; local control and establishment of post-high school educational centers near their homes; programs that provide a wider range of professional and intellectual skills; more special programs such as Student Orientation Services and Native studies; and long-range stability in the grant-in-aid, loan, and scholarship funding programs.

9. All demographic, statistical indicators that were available for this study project a future where the Native population will con-

tinue to increase in total numbers and will remain young in relationship to national age medians. More Natives are presently attending elementary and secondary schools than ever before. The median educational attainment of Natives (i.e., years-in-school), though presently only slightly more than half that of non-Natives in Alaska, is rising significantly (see Table 7). Thus, there is a potential for a period of "explosive growth" in the area of higher education among Native peoples.

10. The time when Alaska Natives who happened to be blessed with intellectual talents were not provided with the means to develop those talents has been finally relegated to history.

Recommendations

The following recommendations resulting from the present study are those which are considered to be most crucial, to this writer, and are thought to be most easily capable of consummation.

1. A host of studies are needed in all areas that touch on education and Alaska Natives. Such studies could include cultural change through education; the existence or non-existence of preparatory programs in Alaska's bush schools; ethnic-oriented curricular content; non-Native disciplinary methods that may result in psychological damage; differing ethical and social mores among Native ethnic groups, and between Natives and non-Natives, that may have an effect on learning; and exploratory work into Native parental attitudes toward education. In each case, however, the investigator must conduct wholly new, empirically

based studies. Like others, Natives change over time.

2. The Anderson and Eells study of 1935, concerning education among Alaska Natives (and quoted liberally throughout this present study), should be replicated. The collection and analysis of comparative data in Native education is sorely needed in order to provide an objective base for other studies.

3. The Ray Report of 1958 should also be replicated for similar reasons.

4. A study of the psychological or sociological implications of the "two-school system" should be seriously considered.

5. An all-Alaska Native educational conference should be convened in the near-future for purposes of determining goals and objectives that may be desired by the Native peoples. Such a conference should include, but not be dominated by, professional Native and non-Native educational experts. The Alaska Federation of Natives, Inc., or some other respected, statewide organization should provide the funding, organization and logistic support of that conference, including preliminary hearings at the village and regional levels.

6. A study should be conducted into the impact of the Native Claims Settlement Act in relation to education. Such a study should include, but not be limited to, the ramifications concerning:

- a. the present migration patterns of Alaska Natives, whether into urban centers of the State or into the larger regional towns such as Bethel, Kotzebue, Nome, Barrow, etc.,
- b. local control of education, whether on a village or regional scale, and including the administrative and other skills required of such endeavors,

c. the needs of the newly constituted village and regional corporative structures, and the ability of the present educational systems in Alaska to fulfill those needs,

d. the educational needs of urban Natives, when those needs differ from those of the rural areas.

7. A study should be made of the impact of the long-term relationships that exist between certain of the Alaska Native leadership who had attended Mt. Edgecumbe and other dormitory schools in their youth. (Such associations are also known as the "old school tie" phenomena.) A study of that nature should include sociological and psychological data and could produce insights into political science matters as well.

8. A professionally conducted profile study of the Alaska Native college student should be launched. A study of that type should thoroughly probe the "needs" of such students from perhaps four viewpoints: that of the institutions; of the academic staffs; of the students; and of the parents. Comparisons should be made between those viewpoints. Other concerns of such a study should include analyses of attrition and college transfer patterns among Native students, and the reasons for success among those who manage to be graduated.

9. A study concerning the language difficulties of Native students in an academic setting should be made. That type of study should investigate the problems relating to formal or "college" English encountered by Natives.

10. A "data bank" or "information center" for the collection and consolidation of documents concerning Natives and higher education should be established in Alaska. Such a collection could be the concern of the University of Alaska Library, the Center for Northern Education,

or the Department of Education. In any case, those materials should be made readily available to all agencies, institutions, and individuals in the process of conducting studies similar to those suggested above.

Further Suggestions from the Author's Perspective

The process entailed in writing a study of this type provides the author with insights and ideas that are often not fully explored within the study, but which are felt to be worthy of mention, nonetheless. Some of the following perceptions are in the style of editorial comments, others are frankly political, and a few are addressed to the Native people.

1. The institutions of higher education in Alaska, in league with the State government, should pursue more vigorously the opportunities inherent in such inter-institutional agencies as the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE). While it is true that certain programs (e.g., those leading to Doctoral degrees or degrees in law or medicine) are extremely difficult to fund and staff, they are, nevertheless, essential in fulfilling the needs of the Native and non-Native sectors of the Alaskan population. It is this writer's opinion that such opportunities have not been fully utilized.

2. The consortium agreements between the public and private institutions of higher learning in Alaska should be expanded wherever those agreements benefit the students. The fact that in some instances they may be difficult to administer or that they clash with certain "faculty prerogatives" (whether real or imagined), should not be an

overriding reason to abandon or modify them. Higher education in Alaska should be considered in light of the definition presented in Chapter I of this study, and barriers between the types of higher education in the State should be de-emphasized.

3. The University of Alaska Board of Regents should be prepared to establish community colleges and other facilities of higher learning in the Southwest and Northern Alaska Native districts. The call for local control of education by those people suggests that they will include forms of higher education in their needs.

4. The funding of higher education in Alaska--including the existing student loan and scholarship programs--should not be allowed to decrease below present levels. Those legislators with vision who supported the present programs are to be congratulated, but they must continue to maintain a constant vigilance so that short-term, political expediency does not cripple those programs through misdirected budgetary reductions. It is further recommended, in this light, that a study of student funding programs in Alaska be initiated in order that the Legislature, and the educational agencies of the State, will be aware of valid data and conclusions concerning the subject.

5. The Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska performs a plethora of functions and activities that are crucial to the well-being of the Native peoples, and its employees conduct themselves with dedication in most cases. All, however, receive an inordinate amount of general, negative criticism from the Native community. While the evidence is not absolutely clear, it does appear that such criticism largely results

from the operation of Bureau schools in the Native districts. It is therefore the considered, personal opinion of this writer that the Bureau should turn those schools over to the State or locally controlled school districts--ending the inequities and last vestiges of the era of the "two-school system."

6. The Native organizations, whether statewide or regional, should commit a substantial amount of their assets and energies to the higher education of their young (e.g., in the form of grants, counseling services, and other incentives). Such commitments should be sincere, persistent, and widely applied. If the land claims settlement is to have any meaning to future generations, the endowment in hand today must be strengthened and increased for them.

7. The Native people and their associations should encourage the continued development of the two private institutions of higher learning in Alaska. Both evidence a serious concern for the improvement of Native education, and have developed programs and curricula accordingly. The political realities in Alaska are sometimes such that the public institution does not always have the flexibility to initiate similar programs.

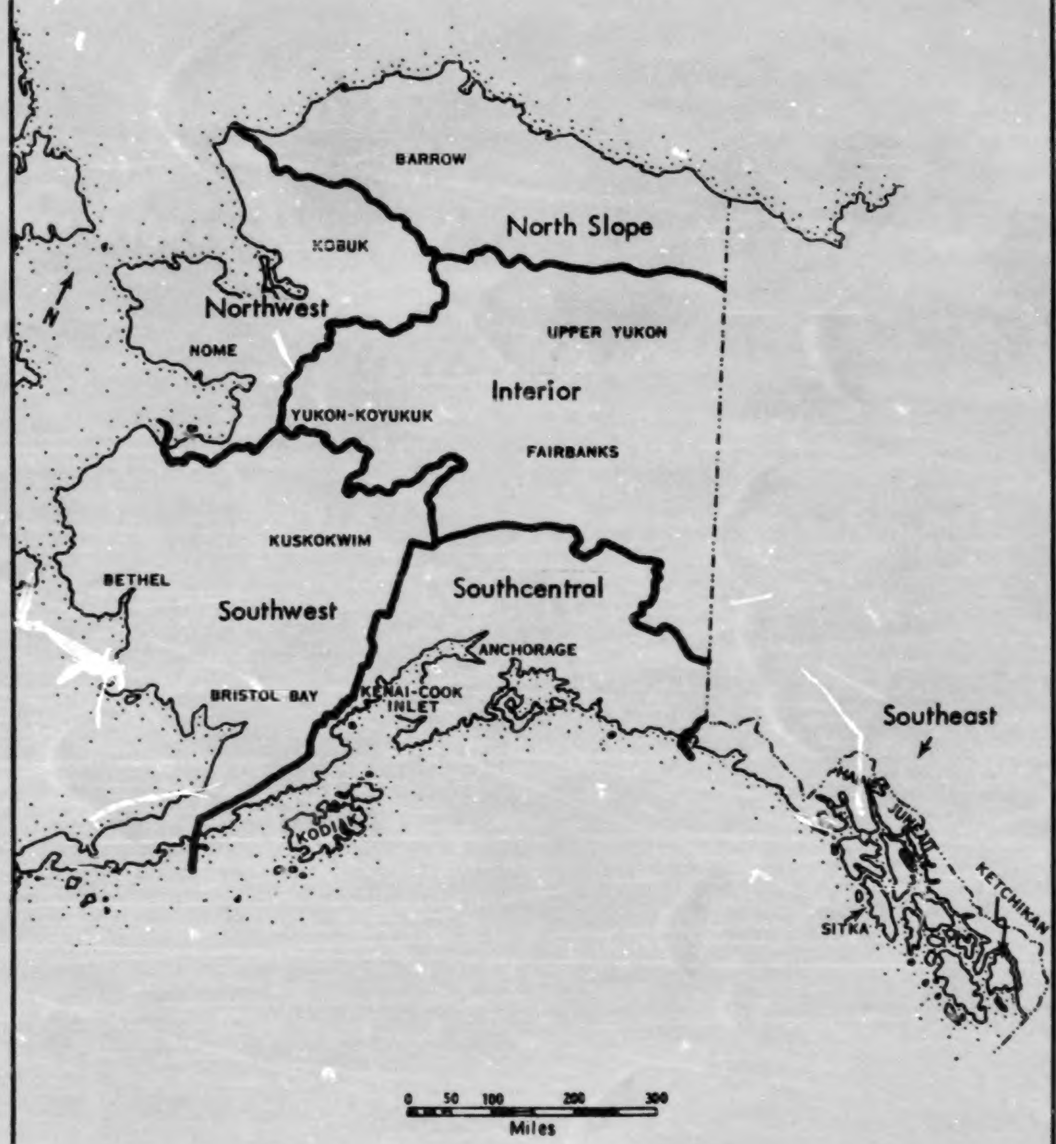
8. The adult Native people should wholeheartedly support those among them who aspire to a higher education. Even though it may be difficult to understand at times, and may even seem like a "waste of time," that type of education is actually crucial to the very survival of the people as Natives. Times have changed, and if the Native peoples, of whatever ethnic background, are to be taken seriously in the

future, there must be trained Native people with professional and intellectual skills equal or superior to others.

FIGURES

FIGURE 1

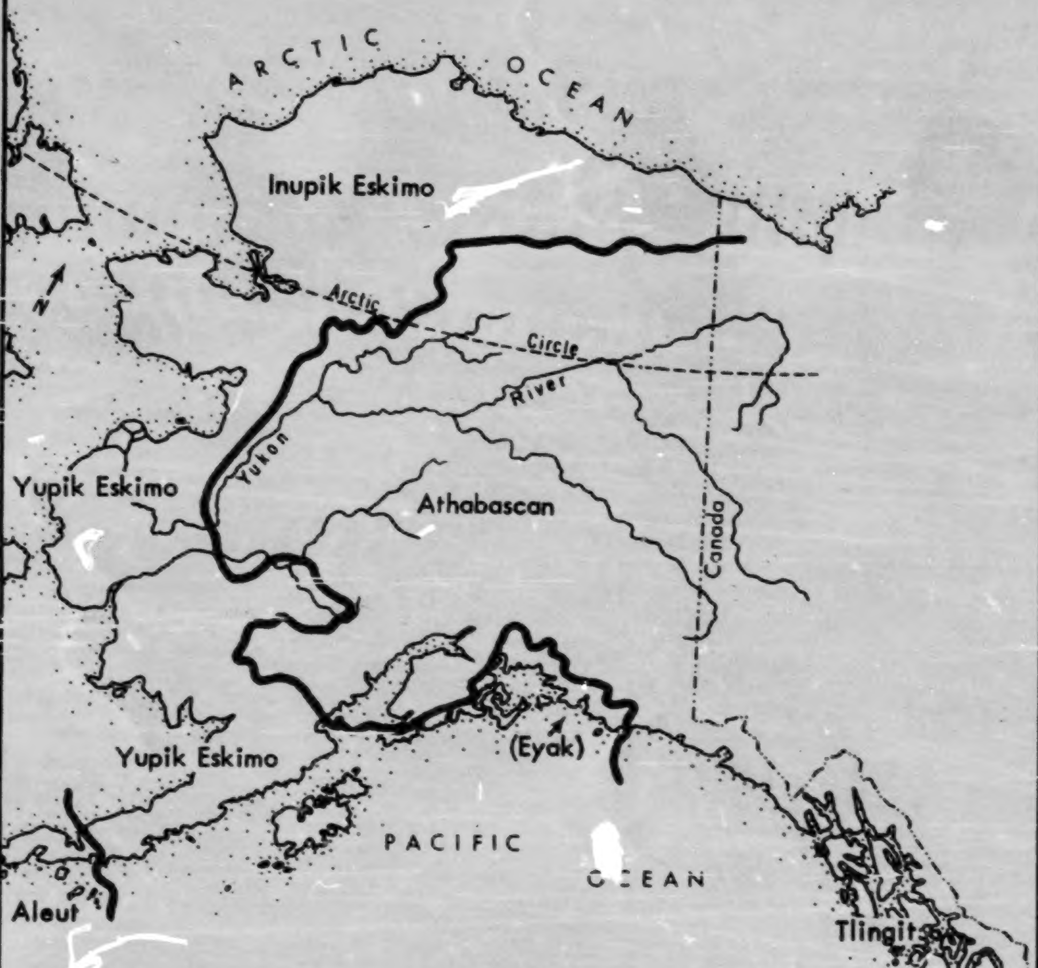
MAJOR ALASKA REGIONS



Source: Alaska's Population and Economy, vol. II, p. xiv.

FIGURE 2

GENERALIZED DISTRIBUTION OF ALASKA NATIVES



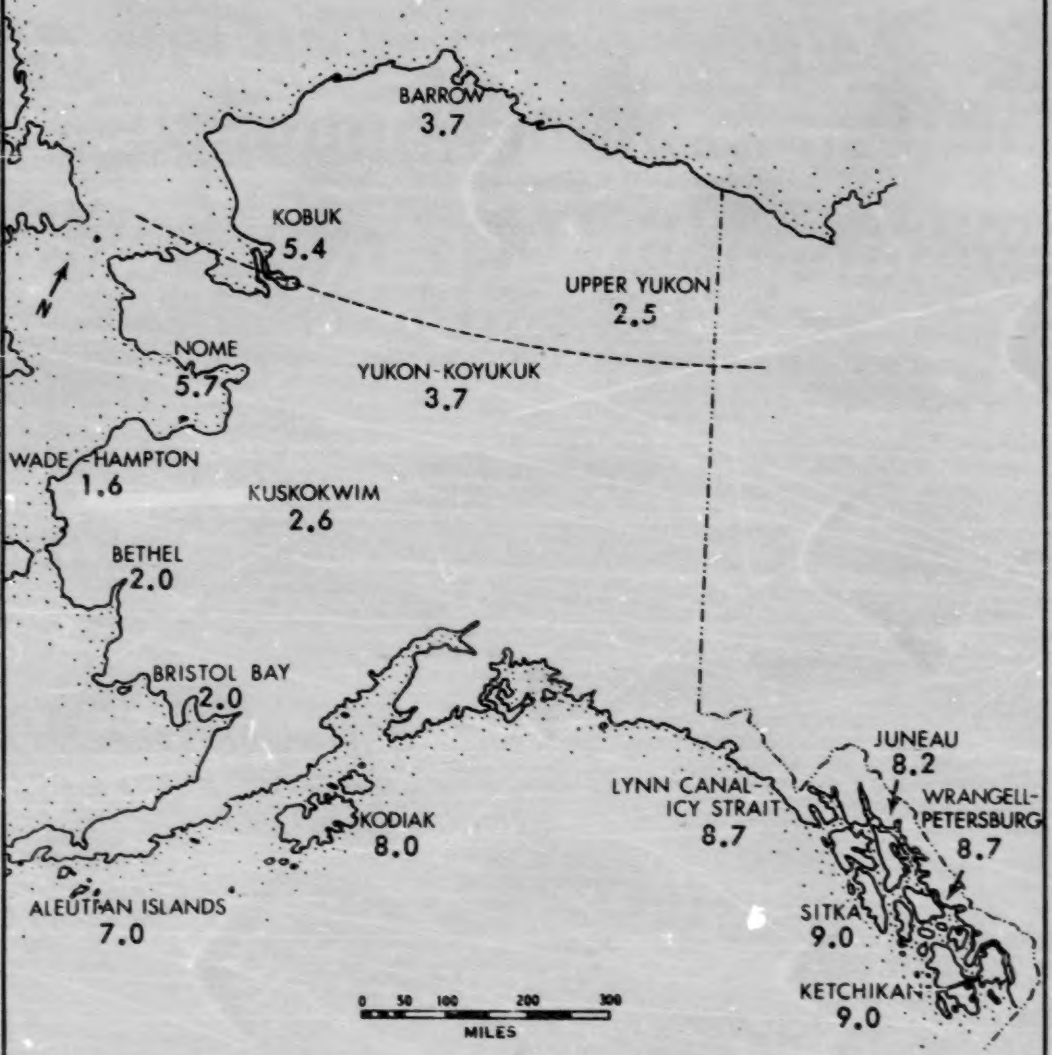
Source: Alaska Natives and the Land, p. 5.

RBM

FIGURE 3

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED BY ALASKA NATIVES,

SELECTED DISTRICTS, 1960

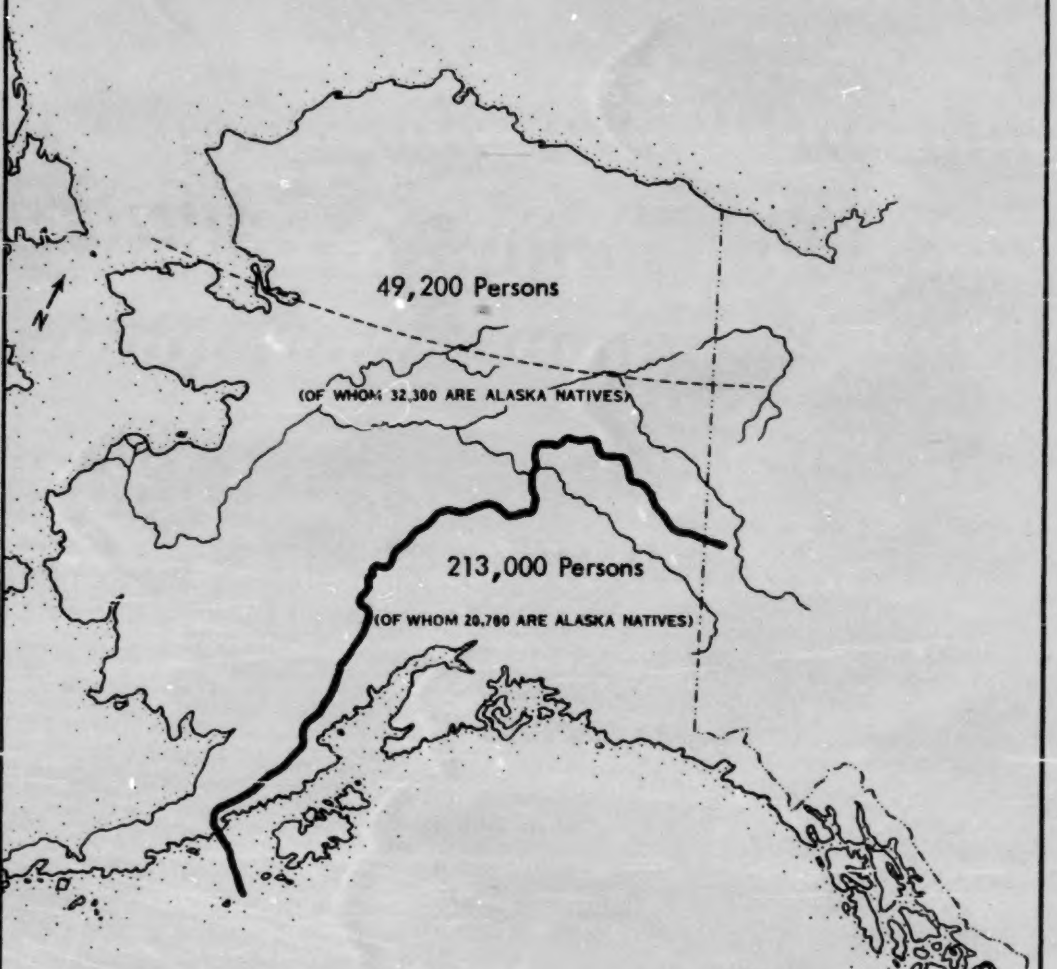


Source: Alaska Natives and the Land, p. 63.

RBM

FIGURE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF ALASKA NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE POPULATION, 1967


N
49,200 Persons
(OF WHOM 32,300 ARE ALASKA NATIVES)
213,000 Persons
(OF WHOM 20,700 ARE ALASKA NATIVES)
0 50 100 200 300
Miles

Source: Alaska Natives and the Land, p. 6.

RBM

TABLES

TABLE 1

Major Components of Alaska's Population Growth 1840-1960

Year	Alaska	Civilian (Native)	Civilian (Non-Native)	Military
1840	40,716	40,076	700	--
1880	33,426	32,996	430	--
1890	32,052	25,354	4,298	--
1900	63,592	29,542	30,450	--
1910	64,356	25,331	36,400	--
1920	55,036	26,558	28,228	250
1930	59,278	29,983	29,045	250
1940	72,524	32,458	39,566	500
1950	128,643	33,863	74,373	20,407
1960	226,167	43,081	150,394	32,692

Source: Rogers, *Alaska's Population and Economy*, vol. II, p. 7.

TABLE 2

Decennial Rate of Increase for the Aboriginal Population by Region, Alaska 1880-1960

Year	Total Aboriginal Population %	South-east %	South-central %	South-west %	Interior %	North-west %
1880-1890	(23.2)*	(20.0)	(17.4)	(22.9)	(14.5)	(38.5)
1890-1900	16.5	(2.8)	12.2	(9.9)	37.1	(40.2)
1900-1910	(14.2)	1.1	(19.9)	(23.7)	(19.9)	(8.5)
1910-1920	4.8	(8.7)	(5.1)	38.6	4.0	(15.4)
1920-1930	12.9	11.8	18.6	5.7	33.2	14.8
1930-1940	8.2	8.5	11.7	1.1	4.0	20.3
1940-1950	4.3	21.9	(4.7)	(0.2)	5.9	0.0
1950-1960	27.1	16.6	45.6	32.1	26.5	22.3

*Parentheses represent decreases.

Source: Rogers, Alaska's Population and Economy, vol. II, p. 31.

TABLE 3

General Population Trends in Alaska, 1740-1970

Year or Date		Total No. of Persons	Total Trend[a]	Native No. of Persons	Native Trend[a]	Non-Native No. of Persons	Non-Native Trend[a]
Circa	1740-80	74,000	24.5	74,000	100.0	--	--
	1839	39,813	13.2	39,107	52.8	706	0.3
	1880	33,426	11.1	32,996	44.6	430	0.2
	1890	32,052	10.6	25,354	34.3	6,698	2.7
June	1900	63,592	21.0	29,536	39.9	34,056	13.6
Dec. 31,	1909	64,356	21.3	25,331	34.2	39,025	15.6
Jan. 1,	1920	55,036	18.2	26,558	36.0	28,478	11.4
Oct. 1,	1929	59,278	19.6	29,983	40.5	29,295	11.7
Oct. 1,	1939	72,524	24.0	32,458	43.8	40,066	16.0
Apr. 1,	1950	128,643	42.6	33,863	45.8	94,780	37.8
Apr. 1,	1960	226,167	74.8	43,081	58.2	183,086	73.1
Apr. 1,	1970	302,173	100.0	51,712[b]	69.9	250,461	100.0

[a] Number of persons expressed as percentage of maximum for each series.

[b] Partly estimated; Eskimo and Aleut included with "other races" in 1970 census reports.

Source: Rogers, Alaska's Native Population Trends and Vital Statistics, 1950-1985, p. 4.

TABLE 4. Significant Native Population Movement within Regions--1950-1970

	Number of Persons			Average Annual Rate of Change	
	April 1, 1950	April 1, 1960	April 1, 1970	April 1, 1950-60	April 1, 1960-70
Southeast Region	7,929	9,242	8,354	1.0	(0.9)
Sitka District*	2,055	2,837	1,363	3.2	(7.9)
Balance	5,874	6,405	6,991	0.9	0.9
Southcentral Region	3,788	5,514	9,723	3.8	5.8
Anchorage District	659	2,107	5,286	11.2	9.6
Balance	3,129	3,407	4,437	0.8	2.6
Southwest Region	10,838	14,314	17,364	2.8	1.9
Bethel City	467	977	1,870	7.7	6.7
Balance	10,371	13,337	15,494	2.5	1.5
Interior Region	3,666	4,638	5,615	2.3	1.8
Fairbanks District	1,299	1,453	1,818	1.1	1.9
Balance	2,367	3,185	3,797	2.9	1.7
Northwest Region	7,663	9,373	10,656	2.0	1.3
Nome City	929	1,608	1,522	5.6	(0.5)
Barrow City	924	1,215	1,904	2.7	4.5
Balance	5,810	6,550	7,230	1.2	1.0

*Mt. Edgecumbe Native population: 1950, 718; 1960, 1,432; and 1970, 464.

Source: Rogers, Alaska Native Population Trends and Vital Statistics, 1950-1985, p. 5.

TABLE 5. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Alaska Population by Regions, 1960

	State	Southeast	Southcentral	Southwest	Interior	Northwest
I. Population and Ethnic Composition:						
Total	226,167	35,403	108,851	21,001	49,129	11,784
White	174,546	25,354	98,733	6,381	41,789	2,289
Native	43,081	9,242	5,514	14,314	4,638	9,373
Other	8,540	807	4,604	306	2,701	122
% Native	19.0	26.1	5.1	68.1	9.4	79.5
II. Education:						
% no Education	3.5	2.0	0.9	22.2	2.5	11.2
1-8 years	22.8	27.1	16.9	39.9	19.4	58.7
More than 8	73.6	70.9	82.2	37.9	78.4	30.1
III. Employment:						
Government	51,941	4,499	26,948	4,422	14,733	1,339
Private	38,982	9,179	19,261	1,576	7,446	1,520
IV. Per Capita Income: ($)	2,781*	2,761	3,046	1,952	2,840	1,604

*U.S. per capita income in 1960 was $2217.

Source: Rogers, Alaska Regional Population and Employment, 1967, pp. 27-28.

TABLE 6

Median School Year Completed by Persons 25 Years Old and Over in Alaska 1939-1960

	United States			Far West			Alaska		
	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White
1939	8.6	8.7	5.8	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	8.2	9.7	1.8
1950	9.3	9.7	6.9	11.5	11.6	8.9	11.3	12.2	4.0
1960	11.0	N.A.	8.1	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	12.1	12.4	6.6

Source: Rogers, Alaska's Population and Economy, vol. II, p. 45.

TABLE 7. Educational Attainment by Race, 1970 (Males and Females, 25 years and over)

Years of Schooling Completed		Total	White	% White	Native Estimate	% Native
TOTAL		134,948	110,906	100.0	19,272	100.0
No School Years Completed		3,339	444	.4	2,819	14.6
Elementary:	1-4	4,621	632	.6	3,818	19.8
	5-6	4,124	1,112	1.0	2,840	14.7
	7	3,131	1,510	1.4	1,502	7.8
	8	9,627	6,948	6.3	2,378	12.3
High School:	1-3	20,152	16,792	15.1	2,531	13.1
	4	50,820	46,543	41.9	2,278	11.8
College:	1-3	20,052	18,598	16.8	798	4.1
	4	10,484	9,981	9.0	235	1.2
	5 & Up	8,598	8,346	7.5	73	.4
Median		12.5	12.6		8.2	

Source: 1970 Census, volume PC(1)-C3, Tables 46 and 51.

TABLE 8

Median Age of Alaska's White and Non-White Population
Compared with Total United States
1890-1960

	Alaska White			Alaska Non-White			United States All Classes
Year	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1890	32.1	32.8	22.0	23.2	24.7	21.4	22.5
1900	33.5	34.3	27.3	22.7	23.7	21.7	23.4
1910	34.3	35.1	29.6	23.3	24.9	21.3	24.5
1920	37.5	40.1	29.6	19.3	20.5	18.2	25.6
1930	39.5	43.3	30.6	18.3	18.7	17.8	26.9
1940	34.8	37.8	30.3	18.2	18.6	17.7	29.5
1950	28.1	28.0	28.2	18.4	19.0	17.7	30.3
1960	24.6	24.9	24.0	18.0	19.0	16.8	29.5

Source: Rogers, Alaska's Population and Economy, vol. II, p. 35.

TABLE 9. Native Population Projections by Regions--1970-1985

Year	Total Alaska	Southeast	Southcentral	Southwest	Interior	Northwest
Native Population Project (thousands of persons)--No Migration						
1970	51.7	8.4	9.7	17.4	5.6	10.7
1971	52.6	8.4	10.2	17.5	5.7	10.8
1975	58.6	9.5	11.4	19.5	6.3	11.9
1980	65.3	10.6	13.0	21.5	7.1	13.1
1985	72.3	11.7	14.6	23.7	7.8	14.5
Native Population Projection (thousands of persons)--On Non-Native Civilian Distribution						
1970	51.7	7.9	32.2	1.6	9.6	0.4
1971	52.6	8.0	32.8	1.6	9.8	0.4
1975	58.6	8.7	34.4	2.0	11.8	1.7
1980	65.3	10.3	37.5	3.4	12.1	2.0
1985	72.3	14.5	41.8	3.0	11.6	1.4

In Table 9, Native population by regions has been projected on the basis of two extreme sets of assumptions and a short-hand methodology that probably define the limits within which actual change will take place. The first set is based on the assumption that there will be no out-migration of Native population from the state nor any migration between regions of the state. Net natural increase is assumed to be the only cause of change. Regional rates of annual net natural increase after 1971 are assumed to progressively decline from the annual average for the last five years of actual vital statistics in each region by 0.2 per cent for each five year period until a rate of 2.0 is reached.

The second set of projections is made on the assumption that the total Native population within the entire state will be the same as in the first set, but regional allocations will be in proportion to the regional distribution of recent projections of civilian workforce. Thereby, the projections assume that statewide increase in Native population will be in response to a progressively declining rate of net natural increase, but that the resulting population will move in response to economic imperatives (i.e., job opportunities). The procedure abstracts completely from such hindrances to mobility as lack of education and training, cultural restraints, etc.

Source: Rogers, Alaska Native Population Trends and Vital Statistics, 1950-1985, pp. 18-19.

TABLE 10. Full-Time and Part-Time Students,* Colleges and Universities, State of Alaska
Fall Semesters, 1958 to 1968

Institution	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958
4-Year Universities											
University of Alaska	2,254	1,847	1,879	1,613	1,416	1,226	1,159	981	921	816	696
Alaska Methodist Univ.**	736	576	550	489	421	316	244	217	152		
2-Year Schools and Community Colleges											
Sheldon Jackson College**	175	198	88	144	122	114	103	103	96	41	91
Anchorage Community College)	1,772	1,242	1,073	961	727	915	838	649			
Elmendorf-Ft.Richardson Unit)	1,145	1,092	947	793							
Juneau-Douglas Comm. Coll.	160	160	197	134	86	128	212	207	186	97	
Kenai Peninsula Comm. Coll.	102	59	74	21	41						
Ketchikan Community College	93	118	117	93	82	103	76	93	98	118	137
Kodiak Community College	65										
Matanuska-Susitna Comm. Coll.	93	74	48	22	41	28	21	43			
Sitka Community College	40	8	32	17	17	29	33				
Totals	6,635	5,375	5,005	4,287	2,953	2,859	2,686	2,293	1,453	1,072	924

*Full-Time Students include those who are registered for 12 or more academic credit-hours.

**Private schools.

Source: University of Alaska, Higher Education Facilities in Alaska, 1969, p. 15.

TABLE 11. Bachelor's Degrees Granted by Field 4-Year Universities, State of Alaska School Year, 1968-1969

Field	University of Alaska	Alaska Methodist University
Natural Sciences and Related Professions		
Mathematics and Statistics	2.5	7.0
Engineering	39.0	--
Physical Sciences	8.0	3.0
Biological Sciences	15.5	6.5
Agriculture and Forestry	--	--
Science, General Program	2.0	--
Social Sciences, Humanities, and Related Professions		
Fine Arts	5.0	5.0
Philosophy and Religion	1.5	1.0
English and Journalism	11.5	7.0
Foreign Languages	3.5	3.0
Psychology	2.0	8.0
Social Sciences	18.0	12.5
Education	68.5	12.0
Other*	35.0	8.0

*Includes business and commerce; home economics; law; military, naval, or Air Force sciences; theology; and miscellaneous and unclassified fields.

Source: University of Alaska, Higher Education Facilities in Alaska, 1969, p. 21.

TABLE 12. Master's and Doctor's Degrees Granted by Field
4-Year Universities, State of Alaska
School Year, 1968-1969

Field	University of Alaska	Alaska Methodist University
Master's Degrees		
Natural Sciences and Related Professions		
Math and Statistics	2	--
Engineering	15	--
Physical Sciences	9	--
Biological Sciences	5	--
Agriculture and Forestry	--	--
Science, General Program	--	--
Social Sciences and Humanities, and Related Professions		
Fine Arts	--	--
English and Journalism	5	--
Social Sciences	--	--
Education	58	6
Other*	14	--
Doctor's Degrees		
Natural Sciences and Related Professions		
Physical Sciences	4	**

*Includes business and commerce; home economics; law; military, naval, or Air Force Sciences; theology; and miscellaneous and unclassified fields.

**Alaska Methodist University does not offer Doctor's degrees.

Source: University of Alaska, Higher Education Facilities in Alaska, 1969, p. 22.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

CONTEMPORARY ALASKA NATIVE LANGUAGES AND MAJOR DIALECTS

I. Eskimo-Aleut Language Family.

- A. Aleut: Two major dialects.
  - 1. Eastern Aleut: Alaska Peninsula, Akutan, Unalaska, Nikolski, Pribilofs.
  - 2. Western Aleut: Atka.
- B. Eskimo: Two major language groups.
  - 1. Yupik: Three mutually unintelligible languages in Alaska.
    - a. St. Lawrence Island Yupik (similar to Siberian Yupik).
    - b. Pacific Gulf Yupik (popularly called "Aleut"): Chugach, outer Cook Inlet, Kodiak, Alaska Peninsula.
    - c. Central Alaskan Yupik: Bristol Bay, lower Kuskokwim-Yukon, Nunivak Island.
  - 2. Alaskan Inupiaq: Norton Sound, Seward Peninsula, Kobuk River, North Slope.

II. Na Dene Language Group.

- A. Haida: Hydaburg (Prince of Wales Island).
- B. Tlingit: Southeastern Alaska from Ketchikan to Yakutat.
- C. Athabascan-Eyak.
  - 1. Eyak: Cordova (nearly extinct, with only three speakers at Cordova and two at Yakutat).
  - 2. Athabascan: A widely dispersed language-family used by aboriginal peoples in Alaska's Interior, the Yukon and Northwest Territories, Northern British Columbia, parts of Oregon, California, and the U.S. Southwest.
    - a. Ahtena: Chitina, Tonsina, Copper Center, Glenallen, Tazlina, Louise-Tyone, Gulkana-Gakona, Denali-Cantwell, Chistochina, Batzulnetas, Mentasta.
    - b. Tanaina: Knik, Eklutna, Susitna-Talkeetna, Kenai, Ninilchik, Seldovia, Iliamna, Nondalton, Lime-Hungry-Stoney, Tyonek.
    - c. Ingalik: Sleetmute, Stoney River, Aniak, Anvik, Shageluk, Holy Cross.
    - d. Holikachuk: Grayling (intermediate between Ingalik and Koyukon).

- e. Koyukon: Kaltag, Koyukuk, Ruby, Galena, Kokrines, Allakaket, Huslia, Hughes, Rampart, Tanana, Stevens Village, Beaver, Crossjacket, Manley, Roosevelt-Minchumina, Bearpaw.
- f. Upper Kuskokwim: Nikolia, Telida, McGrath.
- g. Tanana: Minto-Tolovana, Toklat, Nenana, Wood River, Chena, Salcha, Goodpaster, Healy Lake, Tanacross.
- h. Upper Tanana: Tetlin, Northway.
- i. Han: Eagle.
- j. Kutchin: Circle, Ft. Yukon, Venetie, Arctic Village, Chalkyitsik, Birch Creek, Canyon Village.
- k. Tsetsaut: Portland Canal (SE Alaska; assumed to be extinct).

III. Macro Penutian.

A. Tsimshian: Metlakatla (Annette Island).

Source: Michael E. Krauss, "Prospectus for Proposal to Establish A Center for Alaska Native Languages," (Fairbanks: The University of Alaska, 1971).

APPENDIX II

THE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN ALASKA

In their report of 1935, Anderson and Eells noted that a "three-school system" was in operation at that time: "The entire program of education in Alaska falls into three general groupings, missionary, territorial and federal."[1] They added, however, that the missionary schools were on the wane and the Territorial and federal schools were educating most of the children. Commenting on the operations of the latter schools, the report described the "system" as follows:

> The Territorial Department of Education was legalized in 1917 with authority to organize a uniform educational system for the Territory. Under this system schools are conducted for white children and those of mixed blood leading a civilized life. In some instances where this department operates the only schools in an isolated village, native children also attend it.
>
> The greater proportion of native children are educated in the schools conducted by the Office of Indian Affairs. Thus there is usually marked separation of whites and natives, whites attending territorial schools, while natives attend the so-called "government schools," even when both are located in the same town or village. Sometimes mixed-blood children attend the native schools, and at other times they go to the territorial schools.[2]

The Office of Indian Affairs (later the Bureau of Indian Affairs) was under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, with headquarters at Washington, D.C., and its schools in Alaska were directed through that chain-of-command. The Territorial Department of Education, in 1935, was headed by a commissioner and a very small staff at Juneau. The Territorial Department's function was that of liaison and coordination between the Territorial government and the autonomous city and local district systems. The Anderson and Eells report is not absolutely clear on the matter, but it appears that the Territorial curricular guidelines were generally followed by the federal Native schools within the Territory.

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[1] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, p. 215.

[2] Ibid.

By 1968, surprisingly little of the core of the situation described above had changed. The Bureau of Indian Affairs schools remained in operation, particularly in the Northwest of Alaska, and that system was still directed through the Department of the Interior from Washington, D.C. The Alaska State Operated Schools, a division of the State Department of Education, was chiefly concerned with the education of children on the military bases and in the rural, non-district, non-Bureau of Indian Affairs regional areas of the State. The white, metropolitan centers maintained their own independent school districts, and looked to the State Department of Education for general guidelines and over-all coordination of such statewide concerns as curriculum, certification, and State and federal financial aid.

A report published in 1968 by the Alaska State Operated Schools contained the following comment:

> With the passage of the Nelson Act of 1905, two-school systems were established and still exist today. Clearly, the concept

> of two systems of education--one for Native youth and the other for non-Native--is inconsistent with the tenets of a democratic nation and more specifically is in conflict with the Alaska Constitution.[3]

However, the report went on to note that it would be a burden to assume such a constitutional mandate:

> Alaska's total educational program should be under the jurisdiction of the State. However, providing school facilities for all children in Alaska and assuming complete responsibility for schools now operating under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs would create a financial burden which Alaska cannot assume at the present time.[4]

The report then discussed the attempts that the two agencies had made toward coordinating curriculum development and operational practices. Such attempts had apparently proved less than successful, for that discussion ended with the following statement:

> The continued operation of two school systems, however, under different statutes, different regulations, and different leadership and philosophies can easily result in continued disparity and further obstacles to consolidation under state jurisdiction. With full knowledge of the difficulties and with genuine concern for the future, an Agreement of Understanding on Educational Policies was developed during a joint meeting held in Washington, D.C., on March 1, 1962, with officials attending from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State of Alaska, the University of Alaska, and the U.S. Office of Education. The agreement commissioned the State of Alaska to "formulate an overall plan with local participation for (a) expansion of present high school educational facilities and (b) transfer of Bureau-operated schools to State management and operation."[5]

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[3] State of Alaska, Department of Education, International Cross-Cultural Conference, (Anchorage: Division of State-Operated Schools, 1968), p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 15.

[5] Ibid., p. 16.

By 1973, the core structure of Alaska's educational system remained basically unchanged: the Bureau of Indian Affairs operated its schools for Natives; the State Operated Schools conducted classes for Native and military children; and the metropolitan districts maintained their quasi-independent statuses.

APPENDIX III

CURRICULUM OBJECTIVES FOR ALASKA SCHOOLS (1930-1968)

In their study of Alaska schools during the early 1930's,[1] Anderson and Eells critically examined the "Course of Study" that had been published in 1926 by the Territorial Department of Education and which was being utilized in 1930. They found it wanting in most respects, and were particularly concerned with the fact that the curricular objectives and goals were based upon the American experience in the "States" and had practically no relevance to the Alaska situation. The course listings, the descriptive notes for activities, and the organization of grades and classes followed the standard patterns that they had observed in other school systems. They commented that "From the fourth page to the end of the book the reader is struck with the fact that this course of study, instead of being the outcome of an investigation of the Alaska situation, is the product of the free and vigorous use of the scissors-and-paste method of curriculum construction."[2]

The study compared several schools in widely separated districts in Alaska, and found that the subjects and time allotments by grades were notably uniform.[3] As an example of such uniformity, the authors described one learning area as follows:

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[1] Anderson and Eells, Alaska Natives: Sociological and Educational Status, 1935.

[2] Ibid., p. 371.

> Our American holidays are given in total regardless of their artificiality in native villages. For example, on Valentine's Day the children are to make valentines, on St. Patrick's Day they are to decorate their books with hat, pipe, and shamrock, on Arbor Day they are to concern themselves with trees, hoes, spades, etc., even though they may be Eskimo children living in a treeless frozen tundra country.[4]

The unimaginative rigidity in following standard American curricular patterns was described by the authors in a quote from the section on eighth grade mathematics objectives:

> Every boy and girl should be familiar and discuss with ease the number experiences involved in (1) Making money work; investing in business concerns, mortgages, bonds, stocks, and thrift stamps. (2) Mortgages and deeds. . . . (5) Fire insurance, life insurance. (6) Municipal and county bonds, etc.[5]

Anderson and Eells recommended a complete revamping of the Alaska school curricula and offered the following guidelines for such a reconstruction:

> The method to be used in the proper construction of the curricula suited to the ethnic and social groups of natives in Alaska consists of three steps, namely:
> 1. Ascertaining the indigenous culture patterns and practices of the several ethnic groups.
> 2. Mirroring the findings of their present social practices in the indigenous culture patterns to determine the character, extent, and direction of social change.
> 3. Projecting, based upon the findings in Step 2, the

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[3] Ibid., pp. 374-382.

[4] Ibid., p. 372.

[5] Ibid., p. 373.

> probable future of the natives for from one to two generations.[6]

Twenty-five years after that advice, the Alaska Department of Education produced a "Course of Study and Scope and Sequence" for Alaska schools that contained educational goals and objectives very similar to the type that Anderson and Eells had criticized in 1935. The Alaska State Operated Schools, the agency charged with the education of the majority of Alaska Native children, published a document in 1968 that contained its curricular goals and objectives. They are unchanged from the 1960 "Scope and Sequence" and appear to be copied word-for-word from that document. Examples from the social studies objectives were written as follows:

> Kindergarten:
>   Home and School--
>   Develop awareness of personal property and responsibility to others.
> First Grade:
>   Home and School--
>   Understand roles of family members and necessity of cooperative living.
> Second Grade:
>   Community--
>   Develop responsibility for contributing to community betterment.
> Third Grade:
>   Expanded Community--
>   Develop concepts of rights of ownership and greater knowledge of place and workers in expanded community.
> Fourth Grade:
>   Alaska and the World Around Us--
>   Develop behavior which shows understanding of rights and property.

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

Fifth Grade:
  United States and the Americas--
    Understand the meaning of the national and state symbols.
Sixth Grade:
  World and its people--
    Develop responsibilities of citizenship.
Seventh Grade:
  United States--
    Understanding and practice acceptable patterns of democratic behavior.
Eighth Grade:
  United States--
    Establish habits and attitudes of acceptable democratic behavior.[7]

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[7] State of Alaska, Department of Education, International Cross-Cultural Conference, (Anchorage: Division of State-Operated Schools, 1968), pp. 37-45.

APPENDIX IV

EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA STUDENT ORIENTATION SERVICES ENGLISH COURSES

English 103 - Intensive Developmental English

Objective: English 103 is the basic SOS English course. It is designed to help those freshmen who have a severe second-language or second-dialect handicap increase their skill in the kinds of listening, speaking, reading, and writing which are required for most university courses.

Texts: Kurilecz, Margaret. *Man and His World*. *A Structured Reader*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969.

Friend, Jewell A. *Writing English as a Second Language*. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971.

Roth, Audrey J. *The Research Paper: Form and Content*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.

Methods: Audio tapes developed by Ruth Crymes et. al. for *Developing Fluency in Speaking*, unpublished textbook.

The basic teaching method used is lecture, practice, evaluation, and (when necessary) further practice and re-evaluation. Students learn to listen to and take notes from a variety of speakers--fellow students, guest speakers, and tape recorded lecturers. To familiarize them with the university's resources and to give them practice in dealing with people they are not acquainted with, the students in groups make most of the arrangements for guest speakers and other special presentations. Students participate in informal class discussions and make at least one formal oral presentation during the semester. The class practices reading college level materials for comprehension and learns methods of underlining, outlining, summarizing, and answering essay questions based on these materials. In addition they write a variety of essays and a term paper on which they receive specific help with using the library, taking notes from written sources and using standard bibliographic and footnote forms.

English 104

Objectives: English 104 is designed to help students with the reading, writing, and listening problems posed by most university lecture courses.

Text: Roth, Audrey J. The Research Paper: Form and Content. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.

Methods: The student learns the communication skills required for most lecture courses by practicing on materials offered by one such course. For students in English 104, section 1, this course is Biology 104, Natural History of Alaska; for section 2 it is Sociology 101, Introduction to Sociology; for section 3 it is History 101, Western Civilization. Not only are all the students in a specific English 104 section enrolled in the same lectures course, but the English instructor also attends these lectures and coordinates his assignments with the work being done in the other subject area. Frequent planning sessions are held between the English instructor and the lecturer providing feedback for both and making coordination possible.

In English 104, work on reading comprehension and outlining is based on the assigned text for the lecture course. Summarizing, abstracting and bibliographic skills are gained through work on subjects currently being discussed in the lecture and sometimes from readings suggested by the lecturer. Writing assignments cover the same range as those in English 103, (a variety of essays, essay test questions, and term paper), but the subject matter of these assignments is related to other fields the students are studying. Notetaking and class discussions are based on the related lecture course.

English 104 is less intensive than English 103, meeting only three days a week and carrying two credits. In addition to the class hours individual conferences are held several times during the semester to enable the student to evaluate his progress and get help with current projects.[1]

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[1] University of Alaska, SOS Progress Report, 1971, pp. 24-25.

APPENDIX V

ALASKA TERRITORIAL AND STATE APPROPRIATIONS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA (1917-1972)

Chapter 62 Session Laws of Alaska 1917. . . . . $	60,000.00
8 SLA 1921.	41,000.00
48 SLA 1923	6,000.00
72 SLA 1923	90,000.00
41 SLA 1925	163,360.00
120 SLA 1933.	111,690.00
90 SLA 1935	192,602.50
66 SLA 1937 (construction).	195,000.00
82 SLA 1937	189,000.00
79 SLA 1939 (construction).	70,000.00
89 SLA 1939	222,400.00
67 SLA 1941 (construction).	60,000.00
71 SLA 1941	230,000.00
40 SLA 1943	139,840.00
64 SLA 1945	359,340.00
89 SLA 1947	682,800.00
114 SLA 1949.	2,155,730.00
134 SLA 1951.	2,241,655.00
141 SLA 1953.	2,972,000.00
159 SLA 1955 (construction)	1,300,000.00
6 SLA 1955 (First Extraordinary Session).	3,907,300.00

187 SLA 1957	$3,865,000.00
188 SLA 1959 (construction)	60,000.00
200 SLA 1959 (construction)	110,000.00
200 SLA 1959	2,148,934.00
182 SLA 1960	2,322,898.00
Chapter 147 Session Laws of Alaska 1961	3,023,376.00
147 SLA 1961 (construction)	86,700.00
47 SLA 1962 (revenue bonds for construction)	6,750,000.00
68 SLA 1962 (construction)	378,000.00
121 SLA 1962 (general obligation bonds for construction)	5,950,000.00
43 SLA 1963 (revenue bonds for construction)	2,020,000.00
104 SLA 1963	4,817,000.00
104 SLA 1963 (construction)	200,000.00
119 SLA 1964	5,300,000.00
110 SLA 1965	5,878,200.00
110 SLA 1965 (construction)	100,000.00
165 SLA 1966 (general obligation bonds for construction)	16,900,000.00
169 SLA 1966	7,314,000.00
169 SLA 1966 (construction)	150,000.00
100 SLA 1967	8,618,000.00
224 SLA 1968 (general obligation bonds for construction)	8,500,000.00
236 SLA 1968	10,400,000.00
111 SLA 1969 (revenue bonds for construction)	4,000,000.00
114 SLA 1969	11,878,000.00
224 SLA 1970 (general obligation bonds for construction)	29,700,000.00
250 SLA 1970	17,000,000.00
131 SLA 1971	19,500,000.00
27 SLA 1972 (purchase of AMU land)	1,950,000.00
132 SLA 1972 (supplemental)	350,000.00
162 SLA 1972 (Arctic environmental information center)	100,000.00
174 SLA 1972 (Native language center)	200,000.00
204 SLA 1972	31,450,000.00

APPENDIX VI

U.S. AND ALASKA LEGISLATIVE CITATIONS DISCUSSED IN THIS STUDY

United States

1884	Volume 23, U.S. Statutes at Large, page 24 and page 27: First Alaska Organic Act, provided for forms of civil government.
1891	26 Stat. 1095: Concerning Alaska timber laws.
1891	26 Stat. 1101: Annette Island Reservation established for Tsimshian Indians.
1898	30 Stat. 409: Homestead laws applied to Alaska.
1900	31 Stat. 321: Concerning Alaska civil government.
1900	33 Stat. 531: Provided for local organization of Alaska schools.
1905	33 Stat. 617: The Nelson Act, provided for local education districts in white Alaska centers.
1912	37 Stat. 512: The Second Alaska Organic Act, provided for territorial government.
1915	38 Stat. 1214: Federal land grant for an "agricultural college and school of mines" in Alaska.
1920	41 Stat. 999: The Merchant Marine Act of 1920 (the "Jones Act").
1924	43 Stat. 253: The Citizenship Act, provided for the enfranchisement of American Indians.
1934	48 Stat. 596: The Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM), provided for the federal funding of Indian education.
1935	49 Stat. 388: Authorized aboriginal land suits to be tried before the U.S. Court of Claims.

1938 52 Stat. 593: Authorized the withdrawal of "small tracts" for "permanent reserves" in the administration of Native affairs.

1953 64 Stat. 967: Public Law 815 amendment, provided for federal funding of construction of Indian schools.

1958 64 Stat. 1100: Public Law 874 amendment, provided for the extension of federal impact funds to Indian schools.

1958 72 Stat. 339,351: The Alaska Statehood Act.

1959 73 Stat. 141: Alaska Omnibus Act, provided for amendments to the 1958 Statehood Act.

1971 85 Stat. 688: Public law 92-203, "The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act."

Alaska

Chapter 62, Session Laws of Alaska, 1917: Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines established. (See Appendix III for Alaska higher education appropriation acts.)

64 SLA 1917: First Alaska Territorial school law.

49 SLA 1935: University of Alaska established.

64 SLA 1935: Scholarship grants to high school graduates based on GPA.

41 SLA 1941: Grades thirteen and fourteen added to Alaska high schools.

57 SLA 1953: Community College Act.

140 SLA 1955: Scholarships for Native students.

1956: House Concurrent Resolution No. 56, directed the University of Alaska to institute a plan to aid Natives in higher education.

75 SLA 1962: Second Community College Act.

112 SLA 1968: Alaska higher educational student grant and loan program.

230 SLA 1970: The "Contractual Services Act."

98 SLA 1971: A revised student grant and loan program.

1971: House Concurrent Resolution No. 26, requested a general study of Alaska higher education.

27 SLA 1972: Purchase of land from Alaska Methodist University.

156 SLA 1972: "Tuition Remission Act."

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